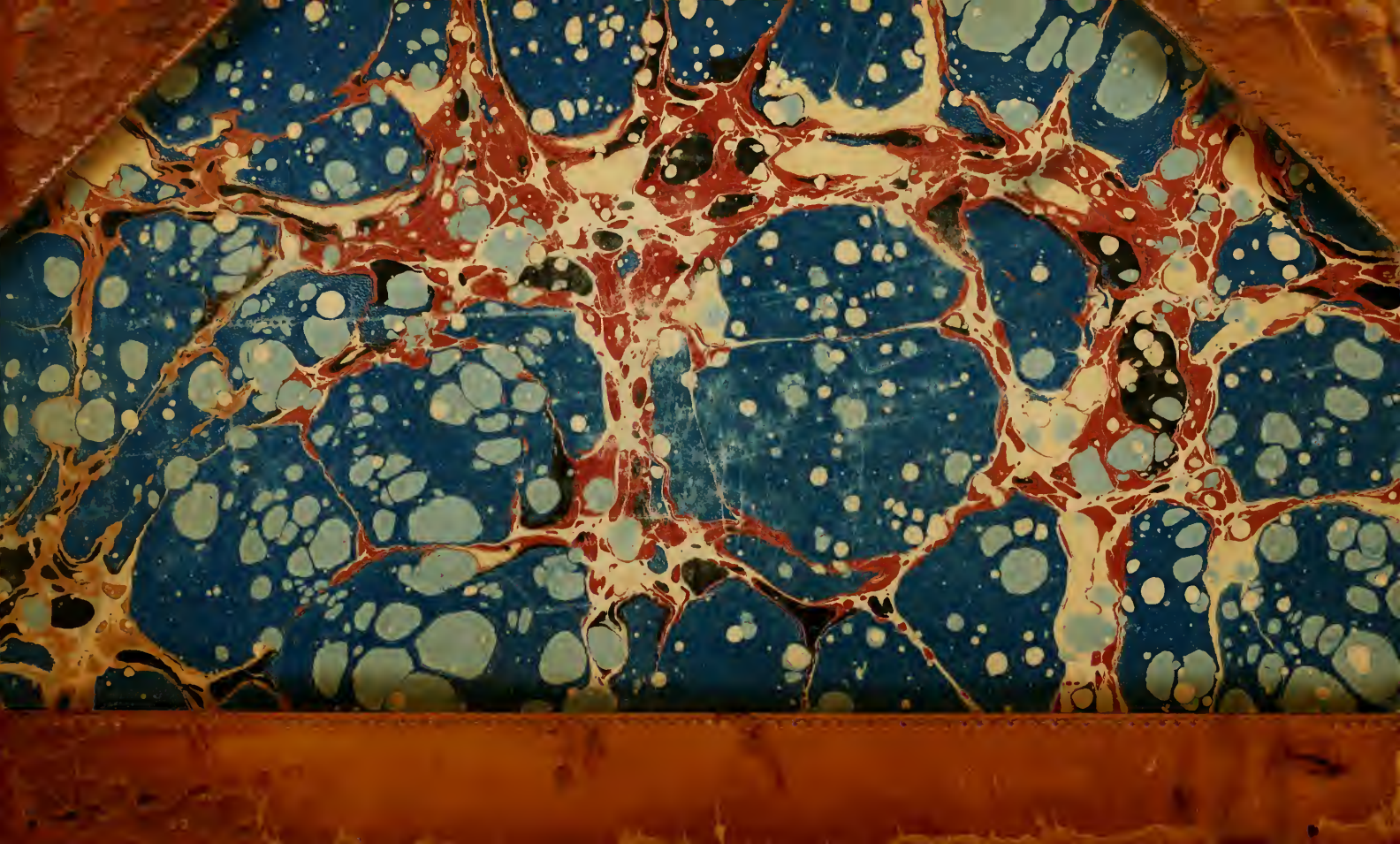

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Julianus, Apostata, emperor of Rom

THE WORKS

OF THE

EMPEROR JULIAN,

AND

SOME PIECES

OF THE

SOPHIST LIBANIUS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH

NOTES from PETAU, LA BLETERIE, GIBBON, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JOVIAN,

From the French of the Abbé DE LA BLETERIE.

By JOHN DUNCOMBE, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION CORRECTED.

Him Poesy, Philosophy, deplore,
The sceptre'd Patriot, who distinctions wav'd,
Lord of himself, by Pagan rites enslav'd;
Whom all, but Christians, held their common friend,
Whose very errors had a virtuous end.——IRWIN.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON,
Printed for T. CADELL, in the STRAND.

1798.

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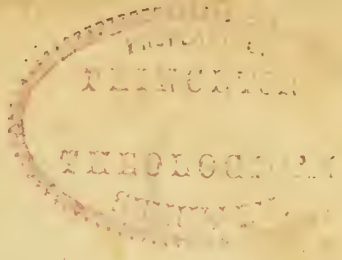

THE EPISTLES OF JULIAN.

Απασαις μεν απαυλας νικων, τα δ'αυθ τε των ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

"Superior, as he was, to all men in all his writings, in "his EPISTLES he was superior to himself."

LIBANIUS.

*** Of the Epiſtles of Julian, the nine firſt were printed in Greek, with other Epiſtles by various hands, by Aldus, Rom. 1499, 4to. and afterwards in Greek and Latin, at Geneva, 1606, folio. The xth was preſerved by Socrates in his Hiſtory, III. 3. The xith, and thoſe that follow, as far as the xlviith, were in like manner publiſhed among the Epiſtles of various writers. The xlixth was taken from Sozomen, v. 16. The lth, liſt, and liid were firſt publiſhed in Greek by Peter Martinius, together with the Miſopogon, and the other Epiſtles, illuſtrated by a Latin tranſlation, Paris, 1567 and 1583, 8vo. Petau therefore firſt tranſlated thoſe three, and alſo the liiid, and the following, as far as the lviiith, which, together with the Epiſtle of Gallus to Julian, Bonaventure Vulcanius publiſhed at Leyden, 1597, 12mo. at the end of the Epiſtles and Problems of Theophylactus Simocatta. The lviiith and lixth, but doubtfully blended together, were firſt publiſhed by Nicholas Rigalt, who alſo added a tranſlation, at the end of his *Funus Paraſiticum*, Paris, 1601, 4to. But in the edition of Petau, by the advice of Rigalt himſelf, it was divided into two, both mutilated, the former having no concluſion, and the latter no beginning. At length the former was ſupplied from a MS. by the learned and ingenious Lewis Anthony Muratori, in his *Anecdota Græca*, Padua, 1709, 4to. The lxth and the two following were firſt publiſhed by Petau, from a copy of an old MS. lent him by Patricius Junius. The lxiiid, which Martinius and Petau have given in Greek only, but very imperfect and incorrect, Ezekiel Spanheim amended and ſupplied from the MS. of Allatius, and firſt added a Latin verſion. Muratori has alſo publiſhed three other Epiſtles of Julian, the lxivth, lxvth, and lxviith, from the ſame MS.

Fabricius.

For an account of the other Epiſtles, ſee the notes.

Epiſtle I. To * * * * †.

I THOUGHT that you had long ago arrived in Ægypt; and recollecting what I have often ſaid, "Happy," cried I, "are the Ægyptians in "the plenty with which they have long been ſup-"plied by the Nile, but happier are they now "in the poſſeſſion of your Muſe, a bleſſing, in "my opinion, ſuperior even to the Nile: That "river, by flooding, enriches their country; but "you, by your eloquence, improving the minds "of their youth, endow them with the treaſures "of wiſdom, like Plato and Pythagoras, their "former viſitors."

Such were my reflections, little thinking that you, in the mean time, were not far diſtant. At the receipt, therefore, of your letter I was at firſt ſo much ſurpriſed, that I thought it an impoſition, and could not believe my eyes. But when I peruſed the contents, convinced that ſuch elegance could flow from no other pen, how great was my delight! I then entertained hopes of ſoon ſeeing you here, and I rejoiced that your own country would ſoon be bleſſed with your preſence, however ſhort might be your ſtay. On this ſubject you ſeem to have brought a ludicrous charge againſt

† The name of the ſage, to whom this Epiſtle is addreſſed, is not known. LA BLETERIE.

me. For though I allow that the air is such as you represent it, that the water is as brackish as the ocean, and that the bread is made of barley; all which, out of regard to your country, you have by no means exaggerated; yet, my good friend, you are much indebted to her for having furnished your mind with philosophy. But beware how you despise the luxuries of Ægypt. Wise Ulysses, though he inhabited a small and rocky island, could not be tempted either by the charms of Calypso, or the promise of immortality, to prefer them to Ithaca. Nor was any Spartan, I imagine, ever induced by the recollection of his coarse domestic fare to complain of Sparta. But I know what has occasioned your bringing this charge against me. You are fond of money, and in that pursuit being disappointed, you sigh with regret, and envy the Nile and the wealth that it produces. This, you say, makes you desert your country, and renders your person as inelegant as that of Chærephon *. But I rather suspect that you are detained by some kind nymph, and are sensible at last of the power of love. Be this as Venus pleases! Mean time, farewell; and may I soon hail you the father of a family!

* Chærephon was a writer of tragedies. He celebrated the actions of the Heraclidæ. But being greatly emaciated by his nocturnal lucubrations, he became a vulgar joke. The name of "owl" was also given him. See *Erasm. in Chil.* p 685.

He was a disciple of Socrates. His nocturnal studies procured him the name of νυκτερις, "bat;" and his paleness the epithet of πυξινος, "the man of box." La Bleterie.

Epistle

Epiſtle II. To Prohæresius *.

WHY ſhould I not ſalute the excellent Prohæreſius, a man as exuberant in language as a river in water, when it overflows its banks; and in eloquence, the rival of Pericles †, except that he does not embroil Greece? Be not ſurpriſed at my adopting the Lacedæmonian brevity. Sages, like you, may make long and verboſe orations; but from me to you a little is ſufficient. A. D. 361.

* One of the Chriſtian profeſſors who ſhut up their ſchools in conſequence of Julian's edict. [See Epiſtle XLII.] He taught at Athens, and his reputation extended over the whole empire. The city of Rome had erected a ſtatue to him as large as the life, with this inſcription, "The "queen of cities to the king of orators." He had received from the Emperor Conſtans the honorary title of "general of the Roman armies." Julian, it is ſaid, exempted him from the general law, and allowed him to retain his ſeat without changing his religion. But Prohæreſius had the delicacy not to avail himſelf of a privilege which would have rendered his faith ſuſpected. Eunapius, an admirer and a diſciple of this ſophiſt, but a great enemy to the Chriſtians, relates this fact differently.

La Bleterie.

On the eloquence of Prohæreſius, Eunapius has fully enlarged. But Suidas ſays, that Julian, in order to pique him, preferred Libanius. Petau.

Libanius, in one of his Epiſtles, recommends him to Maximus, "as an ornament to the world by his eloquence, a good man, and one to whom both Rome and Athens had erected a ſtatue of braſs." His death was celebrated in a remarkable epigram by Nazianzen, preſerved by Muratori in his *Anecdota Græca*, p. 1.

† As to the oratory of Pericles, ſee Cicero *de Oratore*, XXXIV.

Know, then, that my affairs are much embarraſſed and diſtracted. With all the reaſons of my return, if you intend to compile a hiſtory, I will moſt accurately acquaint you by tranſmitting the original letters and other authentic evidence. But if you determine to proſecute your preſent ſtudies for the remainder of your life, you ſhall have no cauſe to complain of my ſilence.

Epiſtle III. To LIBANIUS *.

A. D. 362. THOUGH this is now the third day, the philoſopher Priſcus † is not yet arrived, and a letter from him ſeems to intimate that he will defer his journey. As you have forgotten your promiſe, I muſt remind you of it by demanding my debt. This debt, you well know, it is no leſs eaſy for

* For an account of this ſophiſt, and ſome of his epiſtles, ſee Vol. I. p. 303.

† A Platoniſt, whom, at the ſolicitation of Maximus, ſprung from the ſame ſchool, the Emperor ſent for from Greece. He was ſo reſerved and myſterious in what he knew, as even to tax thoſe, who communicated their learning, with prodigality and profaneneſs. But when he condeſcended to diſplay his own talents, he diſcovered a profound knowledge of the ſyſtems of the ancients. The court did not corrupt him, and, inſtead of becoming a courtier himſelf, he endeavoured to render the courtiers philoſopers.

He was one of the philoſophers that attended Julian to the Perſian war, and with whom he harangued in his laſt moments on the nature of the ſoul. He was called in queſtion in the reign of the Emperor Valens; but his innocence was immediately acknowledged. LA BLETERIE.

you

you to discharge, than it is agreeable to me to receive. Send me therefore your oration, and that divine discourse; but, by Mercury and the Muses, send them soon. For these three days, be assured, you have much wasted me, if what the Sicilian poet says be true,

Lovers in one day grow old *.

If this be a fact, as no doubt it is, you, my good friend, have trebled my age.

I have dictated this letter in the midst of business. I could not write to you myself, as my hand is more tardy than my tongue. But my tongue also is at present tardy and inarticulate through disuse. Farewell, my dearest and best loved brother!

Epistle IV. To Aristomenes †.

IS an invitation necessary from me to you, and must friendly offices never be anticipated? Let us take care not to introduce such a troublesome custom A. D. 362.

* Theocritus, Idyll. xii. by Fawkes.

† This was, without doubt, a man of learning, and perhaps a philosopher. From the conclusion of the Epistle it may be supposed, that he was zealous for the Pagan religion, and perfectly well acquainted with the ceremonies.

This Epistle seems to have been written by Julian, when he was in Cappadocia; where he staid some time in his way from Constantinople to Antioch. La Bleterie.

In the MS. of Vossius it is addressed "to Aristoxenus." Petau.

cuſtom as that of expecting a friend to be as ceremonious as a common acquaintance. If I am aſked, "How can you and I be ſtyled friends, as "we are not yet acquainted?" I anſwer, Why do we profeſs ourſelves friends to thoſe who were born a thouſand or even two thouſand years ago? Becauſe they were good and virtuous. We wiſh to reſemble them. And though as to myſelf I am conſcious of being in fact far otherwiſe, in inclination I am certainly not far diſtant.

But to ceaſe trifling, if you come uninvited, you will be cordially welcome; but if you expect an invitation, you here receive it. Therefore, by Jupiter the Hoſpitable, haſten hither, I intreat you, as ſoon as poſſible, and ſhew us, among the Cappadocians, a true Greek *. For as yet ſome ſacrifice

The LXXXIXth Latin Epiſtle of Libanius, b. III. ſeems to confirm the former reading, being addreſſed "to Ariſto-"menes," and much on the ſame ſubject. Being ſhort, I will add it in Engliſh:

"You wiſh, I hear, to be known to me. Be aſſured "that you have gained your wiſh, as I am better acquainted "with nothing than with you. For who can be ignorant "of the ſplendor of ſuch a genius? Beſides, my love for "you is ſuch, that I love myſelf ſcarce more. Conſe-"quently, command my ſervices, if any thing ſhould offer "in which I can be uſeful."

* Ἀνδρα ἐν Καππαδοκαις καθαρως Ἑλληνα. "A pure Greek "among the Cappadocians." The reſtorer of the Greek religion could not but be diſpleaſed with Cappadocia. 1. Cæſarea, the capital of the province, was almoſt entirely Chriſtian. The temples of Jupiter and Apollo, the tutelar deities of the city, had been long deſtroyed. Even in the reign of Julian, the Chriſtians had juſt pulled down the

the temple of Fortune, the only one that remained. This prince, not contented with confiſcating the effects, moveable and immoveable, of the churches, enrolling the clergy in the moſt deſpicable militia, and putting to death thoſe who had aſſiſted in the deſtruction of the temple of Fortune, eraſed the town from the number of cities, ſubjected it to taxation, and made it reſume the name of Mazaca, which it bore before Tiberius gave it the name of Cæſarea. 2. In Cappadocia the Pagans themſelves could not be agreeable to Julian. Beſides his complaining of their want of zeal, their Paganiſm was apparently blended with the religion of the Magi. Strabo, a native of the province, ſays, (*Geogr. l.* xv.) that, in his time, "there was a great "number of Magi, called *Pyræthi*, and ſeveral temples of "the Gods that were worſhipped in Perſia. Large in-"cloſures were ſeen there, where thoſe Magi kept up the "ſacred fire on an altar," &c. The ſame author ſeems to ſay, that thoſe incloſures, called *Pyræthean*, were appendages to the temples of Anaïtis and Oman. The ſtatue of the latter was carried in proceſſion. More than three centuries after Strabo, St. Baſil, a Cappadocian alſo, and contemporary with Julian, being conſulted by St. Epiphanius as to the origin of the Magi, and concerning the Maguſæi, replied, that "the former were a nation ori-"ginally tranſplanted from Babylonia into Cappadocia, "and diffuſed throughout all the country. They wor-"ſhipped fire, and condemned the killing of animals, "though they ſcrupled not to eat them when they had "been killed by others. They had neither any law in "their marriages, nor books, nor teachers, nor any rules "but their ancient cuſtoms. They were alſo unſociable "with all men, and incapable of reaſoning." The Maguſæi could not be very different from the Hypſiſtarii, a ſect in which Gregory, the father of St. Gregory Nazianzen, was born. He informs us, that "the Hypſiſtarii, "or worſhippers of the Moſt High, profeſſed to adore one "God only. They deſpiſed idols, and ſacrifice," which muſt probably be underſtood with ſome reſtriction, as the ſame St. Gregory elſewhere ſays, that "his father had "been ſubjected to the idols of animals. They reverenced "fire and lamps; and though they were not circumciſed, "they obſerved the ſabbath and the diſtinction of meats."

From

ſacrifice with reluctance, and the few who have zeal, want knowledge *.

Epiſtle V. To the moſt honoured THEODORA †.

ALL the books which you ſent me, and alſo your letter, I received with pleaſure by the excellent Mygdonius ‡. And though I have little leiſure (the Gods know I do not exaggerate) I return you this acknowledgment. Farewell, and favour me with more ſuch letters.

From theſe teſtimonies it may be inferred, that the tenets and rites of the Perſian religion nad made a great progreſs in Cappadocia, but had undergone ſeveral alterations. They were certainly adopted, in ſome degree, even by thoſe who embraced the Greek religion; a mixture highly offenſive to Julian, who thought that the re-eſtabliſhment of Helleniſm, in its purity, was the chief purpoſe of his exiſtence.

LA BLETERIE.

* Εθελοντας μεν, ουκ' ειδοτας δε θυειν, "Willing, but not know-"ing how, to ſacrifice." Like thoſe Chriſtians, who, St. Paul ſays, had *a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* Rom. x. 2.

† This literary lady I apprehend to be the ſame who is addreſſed by Libanius in the following ſhort Epiſtle (the MCCXCIXth) "We, in return, invite you to come hither, "and leave the ſea. For it is better that you ſhould live "ſoberly with us than that we ſhould feaſt with you." By this ſhe appears to have been a perſon of fortune as well as learning.

‡ This alſo was a friend of Libanius, as appears from two Epiſtles to him, the CCCCLXXIſt and the DXVIIIth; in the firſt of which that ſophiſt ſays, "he was like a pa-"rent to him at Athens."

Epiſtle

Epiſtle VI. To Ecdicius, Præfect of Ægypt *.

THOUGH you write to me on no other ſubject †, you ought, however, to have written concerning that enemy of the Gods, Athanaſius, A. D. 362.

* It appears from Epiſtle L, that Ecdicius was very remiſs in writing to Julian even on ſubjects in which he was the moſt intereſted. LA BLETERIE.

Ecdicius ſtudied oratory at Athens with Libanius, as appears from ſeveral of his Epiſtles.

† After the tumult of Alexandria had ſubſided, by the maſſacre of George [ſee Epiſtles IX and X], Athanaſius, amidſt the public acclamations, ſeated himſelf on the throne from which his unworthy competitor had been precipitated. Julian, who deſpiſed the Chriſtians, honoured Athanaſius with his ſincere and peculiar hatred . . . He again baniſhed the archbiſhop from the city; and he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that this act of juſtice would be highly agreeable to his pious ſubjects. The preſſing ſolicitations of the people ſoon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were Chriſtians; and that the greateſt part of the Chriſtians were firmly attached to the cauſe of their oppreſſed primate. But the knowledge of their ſentiments, inſtead of perſuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Ægypt the term of the exile of Athanaſius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian ſtill more inexorable; he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city a daring and popular leader; and the language of his reſentment diſcovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanaſius. The execution of the ſentence was ſtill delayed by the caution, or negligence, of Ecdicius, Præfect of Ægypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by this ſevere reprimand. GIBBON.

The death of Athanaſius was not expreſsly commanded; but the Præfect of Ægypt underſtood that it was ſafer for him

nasius, especially as you have long been acquainted with our edicts against him. I now swear, by the great Serapis, that if that enemy of the Gods does not leave Alexandria, or rather Ægypt, before the calends of December, the cohort that you command shall be fined a hundred pounds of gold *.

him to exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert, and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who in words of formidable import had declared his wish, that the whole venom of the Galilean school were contained in the single person of Athenasius. *Ibid.*

Not contented with banishing Athanasius, the Emperor gave perhaps secret orders to put him to death; or at least Ecdicius, to ingratiate himself with Julian, who seemed dissatisfied with his negligence, took a resolution to deliver Paganism for ever from so formidable an enemy. Be it as it may, Athanasius went up the Nile in order to retire into the Thebais, when he was informed that he was pursued. "Fear nothing," said he to the companions of his flight. "Let us shew, that he who protects us is greater than "he who persecutes us." Saying this, he made the boat steer back towards Alexandria. They soon after met the assassin, who asked them if they had seen Athanasius, and whether he was far off? He is very near, they replied. 'If you make ever so little haste, you cannot fail to over-'take him.' The assassin went on making haste, in vain. Athanasius returned to Alexandria, and there remained concealed. La Bleterie.

The three Epistles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius, should be disposed in the following chronological order, xxvi, x, vi. Gibbon.

M. de la Bleterie has, by mistake, placed the xth before the xxvith.

* From the excellent discourse of Mr. Greaves on the *denarius*, the Roman pound of gold, the usual method of reckoning large sums, may be computed at forty pounds sterling. Gibbon.

4000 pounds sterling therefore would have been the fine.

You

You know, that, slow as I am in condemning, when I have once condemned, I am much slower in pardoning *.

P. S. In his own hand.

It grieves me extremely to see all the Gods despised by him. None of your transactions will give me so much pleasure as to hear that the wicked Athanasius, who has presumed in my dominions to persuade some Greek women of rank to be baptized, is expelled from all parts of Ægypt †.

Epistle VII. To Artabius ‡.

BY the Gods, I would neither have the Galileans put to death, nor scourged, unjustly, nor be in any other manner ill-treated. I think it, never- A. D. 362.

* Surely this, and the other letters relating to Athanasius, shew that Julian did not practise that indulgence and moderation towards the Christians which he sometimes boasted of. For no fault is alleged against Athanasius, except that he was "an enemy of the Gods," and made converts to Christianity from among the Gentiles.

LARDNER.

† Mr. Gibbon translates this passage thus: "Under "my reign the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the "highest rank has been the effect of his persecutions;" and adds, "I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the "last word (διωκεσθαι) the ambiguity of a tyrant who wished "to find, or to create, guilt."

‡ This Artabius, I imagine, is unknown. What is here given as an Epistle of Julian is perhaps a fragment of some edict. There cannot be a doubt that this prince published such a one at the beginning of his reign, declaring Paganism the religion of the empire, and at the same time forbidding

nevertheleſs, highly proper that the worſhippers of the Gods ſhould be preferred to them. By the madneſs of the Galileans * the empire was almoſt ruined †, but by the goodneſs of the Gods we are now preſerved. We ought therefore to honour the Gods, and alſo religious men and ſtates.

Epiſtle VIII. To GEORGE ‡.

A. D. 362. "YOU are come, Telemachus §," ſays the poet. I have now ſeen you in your letter. I have there ſeen your divine mind in miniature, like a large ſtatue copied on a ſmall ſeal. For

forbidding the Chriſtians to be ill-treated. This therefore muſt have been written in 361. LA BLETERIE.

This edict ſufficiently indicates what treatment the Chriſtians were to expect in his reign. LARDNER.

* It was his fancy to call the Chriſtians Galileans. In this appellation there was no reaſon or argument. But it might anſwer Julian's purpoſe to make them appear contemptible in the eyes of weak people. *Ibid.*

† It is certain, that the Arian perſecution produced great evils in the ſtate. Conſtantius, deſirous of being a divine, neglected the duties of an emperor. In order to hold councils, he ruined the public carriages, and expended immenſe ſums, &c. But it is unjuſt to charge the Chriſtian religion with faults which it condemns even when committed for its ſupport. Of all religions it is beſt calculated to render a ſtate happy. LA BLETERIE.

‡ The procurator, or one of the receivers, of the Cæſar. Epiſtle LV is alſo addreſſed to him, with the addition of Καθολικῷ, which the MS. of Voſſius has annexed to this.

§ Ηλυθες, Τηλεμαχε. In Odyſſ. XVI. 23. Ηλθες, κ. τ. λ. the beginning of the welcome of Eumæus to that prince on his return from Pylos.

much

much may be expreſſed in little. The wiſe Phidias * was not only celebrated for his Olympic and Athenian ſtatues, but alſo for compriſing works of real art in ſmall ſculptures. Such, it is ſaid, were his graſshopper and bee, and perhaps his fly †, each of which, though the braſs was formed by nature, ſeemed animated by art. But in theſe, it may be ſaid, the appearances of truth might be owing to the ſmallneſs of the inſects. Obſerve then his Alexander hunting on horſeback ‡, whoſe whole dimenſions do not exceed the ſize of a finger-nail: Each figure, however, is ſo wonderfully executed, that Alexander even wounds the beaſt, and with his looks terrifies the ſpectator. But the horſe refuſing to rear up, even in this

* This excellent Greek ſculptor, in the year of Rome 323, finiſhed the ivory ſtatue of Minerva, ſo much extolled by the ancients, and conſidered as the maſter-piece of his art. He placed it in the citadel of Athens. Afterwards, being baniſhed from that city, he retired into the province of Elis, where he was killed, after finiſhing the ſtatue of Jupiter [of ivory alſo, according to Pliny] which he placed in the temple of Delphi, and which has been reckoned one of the wonders of the world. MORERI.

† Theſe do not occur among the works of this artiſt enumerated by Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, xxxiv. 8. though he ſays, that, "in ſmall works Phidias had equal magnificence." Julian does not ſpeak of them as then extant—φασιν is his expreſſion, "it is ſaid." A graſshopper and locuſt of Myron are mentioned by Pliny, as celebrated in the poems of Erinna.

‡ Here Julian ſeems to refer to ſome well-known work then in being, (probably at Rome or Conſtantinople). The expreſſion is Σκοπει, "Behold." A hunting-match of Alexander by Myron, is mentioned alſo by Erinna, as we learn from Pliny.

theſe

theft of motion, moves by art. The ſame impreſſions, my excellent friend, you have made on me. For having been often crowned victor in the liſts of eloquent Mercury, your writings, though few, are excellent, and remind me of the Ulyſſes of Homer, who, by only ſaying who he was, terrified the Phæäcians *. Therefore, if my friendſhip can be ſerviceable to you, you may freely command it. That even the meaneſt can be uſeful, princes may learn from the mouſe, whoſe gratitude preſerved the lion †.

* In Odyſſ. IX. 19. Ulyſſes tells Alcinous and the Phæäcians who he is, by ſaying, Ειμ' Οδυσευς Λαερτιαδης,

Behold Ulyſſes, ſam'd Laërtes' ſon,

but no terror or confuſion, on their part, is mentioned, nor is his narrative diſcontinued till b. XI. Perhaps Julian has ſubſtituted by miſtake (truſting to his memory) "the Phæäcians" for "the ſuitors," who are indeed ſaid (XXII. 42) to have trembled at hearing "who Ulyſſes was."

——————— confus'd the ſuitors ſtood,
From their pale cheeks recedes the flying blood.
POPE. 53.

† Alluding to the fable of the mouſe, who, having been preſerved by a lion, in return extricated her benefactor from a net, by gnawing the meſhes.

To this fable Libanius alſo alludes, in his XLVIIth Epiſtle: "We mice endeavour more to aſſiſt you lions, than "you lions, us;" and that proverb, which Syneſius uſes, "he prefers a mouſe to a lion," ſeems not unknown to the ancients, applied to thoſe who promiſe much, but perform little. WOLFIUS.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle IX. To Ecdicius, Præfect of Ægypt.

SOME delight in horſes, ſome in birds, and others in wild beaſts *. I, from my childhood, have always been inflamed with a paſſionate love for books †. I think it abſurd to ſuffer theſe to fall into the hands of wretches whoſe avarice gold alone cannot ſatiate, as they are alſo clandeſtinely endeavouring to pilfer theſe. You will therefore oblige me extremely by collecting all the books of George ‡: He had many, I know, on philoſophical A. D. 362.

* Αλλοι μεν ιππων, αλλοι δε ορνεων, αλλοι θηριων ερωσιν. M. de la Bleterie has tranſlated this, *Les hommes naiſſent avec des goûts differens*, and ſays, "Some delight in horſes, &c. (as in "the original) would have had no grace in French." The Engliſh language is not ſo faſtidiouſly delicate. Our affected neighbours might with equal reaſon object to that ſimilar paſſage of the Pſalmiſt "*Some truſt in chariots, and ſome in horſes*," &c.

† Thus was truly Julian, what Cicero terms himſelf, *helluo librorum*.

‡ Surnamed, from his parents, or his education, the Cappadocian. He was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's ſhop. From this obſcure and ſervile origin he raiſed himſelf, by the talents of a paraſite, firſt to a lucrative commiſſion, or contract, to ſupply the army with bacon, and afterwards, by his profeſſion of Arianiſm, to the primacy of Ægypt, vacant by the expulſion of Athanaſius. His entrance was that of a Barbarian conqueror; and he oppreſſed, with an impartial hand, the various inhabitants of his extenſive dioceſe. Under the reign of Conſtantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the juſtice, of the people, and it was not without a violent ſtruggle that the civil and military powers of the

phical and rhetorical subjects, and many on the doctrine of the impious Galileans. All these I would have destroyed *; but lest others more valuable should be destroyed with them, let them all be carefully examined. The secretary of George may assist you in this disquisition, and if he acts with fidelity, he shall be rewarded with freedom; if not, he may be put to the torture †. I am

state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison (Nov. 30. A. D. 361.). At the end of twenty-four days, (Dec. 24.) the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of legal proceedings. The enemies of Gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea.

The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians; and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church. The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter. GIBBON.

* It was mean in Julian to wish that all Christian writings might be destroyed. It was beneath a philosopher to entertain such a thought. LARDNER.

† The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal *question* (as it is emphatically styled) was admitted, rather

I am not unacquainted with this library; for when I was in Cappadocia, George lent me ſeveral books to be tranſcribed, which I afterwards returned to him.

Epiſtle X. To the People of ALEXANDRIA *.

IF you do not revere Alexander, your founder †, and more eſpecially that great God, the moſt holy Serapis ‡, have you no regard for your country, A. D. 362.

rather than approved, in the juriſprudence of the Romans. They applied this ſanguinary mode of examination only to ſervile bodies, whoſe ſufferings were ſeldom weighed by thoſe haughty republicans in the ſcale of juſtice or humanity; but they would never conſent to violate the ſacred perſon of a citizen, till they poſſeſſed the cleareſt evidence of his guilt. GIBBON.

* This public Epiſtle [occaſioned by the maſſacre mentioned in a note on the laſt, p. 17.] affords us a very lively proof of the partial ſpirit of Julian's adminiſtration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expreſſions of eſteem and tenderneſs. "He ſuffered his "friends," (ſays Ammianus), "to aſſwage his anger." *Ibid.*

Socrates has tranſcribed this Epiſtle, and ſo has M. Fleury.

In ſpeaking of George, he did not mention the two officers who had been maſſacred with him; becauſe, not deſigning to revenge their death, which was moſt atrocious, he was aſhamed to ſeem to forgive it. His letter is full of noble ſentiments. I would not affirm, that, after having written it, he was not in his heart pleaſed with thoſe who had furniſhed him with the ſubject. The Arians circulated a report that the partiſans of Athanaſius were the authors of the death of George; but the latter need no other apology than the Epiſtle of Julian himſelf, which only accuſes the Pagans. LA BLETERIE.

country, for humanity, for decency? I will add, for me alſo, whom all the Gods, particularly the great Serapis, have thought proper to appoint ruler of the world *, and who ought to have been informed of the outrage that you have committed? But anger perhaps has miſled you, and rage, which, ſubverting reaſon, often inſtigates the moſt enormous crimes, has, by a ſudden impulſe, urged you to perpetrate, as a people, ſuch wickedneſs as in others you have juſtly abhorred and deteſted.

† Alexander the Great built this city, as one of the moſt glorious monuments of his conqueſts, about 330 years before Chriſt. Its ſituation was moſt advantageous, between the ſea and one of the arms of the Nile. Alexandria became not only the firſt city in Africa, after the deſtruction of Carthage, but in all the world, next to Rome, as Herodian ſtyles it. It is at preſent ſubject to the Turks. Selim ſubdued it in 1517, with the reſt of Ægypt, and the country which compoſed the empire of the Mammelus. The city is almoſt entirely ruined, and it has no more than 8000 inhabitants. Its haven, however, is very good and commodious, and it has ſtill ſome trade. MORERI.

‡ A falſe deity which the Ægyptians adored. The Romans had often forbidden the ſacrifices of Serapis to be celebrated in their cities. The idol of which the Emperor Hadrian, and afterwards Julian, wiſhed to have a copy, was compoſed of all kinds of metals, wood, and precious ſtones. The temple and ſtatue were demoliſhed in the time of Theodoſius the Great, A. D. 389, in conſequence of a ſedition excited at Alexandria by the Pagans. *Ibid.*

* It is obſervable, that Julian was ſo addicted to the idolatry of the Ægyptians, that, though he worſhipped ſo many Gods of his own country, he profeſſes himſelf indebted to Serapis alone even for the empire. On this account perhaps he cauſed himſelf to be repreſented on coins, together with Serapis, or alone, with the name of Serapis inſcribed, as if he were that deity. BARONIUS.

But

But tell me, I adjure you, by Serapis, what were the crimes that incenſed you againſt George? You will anſwer, no doubt, "He exaſperated "againſt us Conſtantius of bleſſed memory; he "brought an army into the holy city; the king "of Ægypt * ſeized the moſt holy temple of "God, deſpoiling it of the ſtatues, the offerings "and ornaments; being juſtly provoked, on our "endeavouring to ſuccour the God, or rather to "prevent his treaſures being pillaged, he with "equal injuſtice, wickedneſs, and impiety, dared "to ſend againſt us an armed force, fearing "George perhaps more than Conſtantius, if he "had treated us with lenity, inſtead of conſtantly "acting like a tyrant."

For theſe reaſons therefore, being enraged at George, the enemy of the Gods, you have again

* Ο Βασιλευς της Αιγυπτου, *rex Ægypti:* ſo it is expreſſed in the edition of F. Petau. He thinks, however, that we ſhould read τραληγος, (*dux*) or επαρχος, and M. Spanheim inſerts that correction in the text. But that is not neceſſary. Julian ſtyles Artemius "king," or tyrant, of Ægypt, in deriſion, on account of the outrages which he was charged with having committed, and for which the Emperor had juſt cauſed him to be beheaded. LA BLETERIE.

Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been diſſolved, the notary Gaudentius and Artemius, duke of Ægypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province. His merit, who demoliſhed temples, and was put to death by an apoſtate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory atteſts that he was not only a tyrant but an Arian, it is not altogether eaſy to juſtify this indiſcreet promotion. GIBBON.

polluted the holy city, inſtead of bringing him to a legal trial before the judges. In that caſe, there would have been no murder, no crime; by a juſt ſentence you would have been entirely acquitted, and by puniſhing the impious author of theſe incurable evils you would have reſtrained all who deſpiſe the laws, all who dare to inſult ſuch flouriſhing ſtates and cities, and think that their own uſurped power is aggrandiſed by cruelty.

Compare with this epiſtle that which I ſent you not long ago; obſerve the difference, and recollect how much I then commended you. But now, though I would gladly praiſe you, by the Gods I cannot, ſo heinous is your guilt. For the people have dared, like dogs, to worry a man, without being abaſhed, nor have kept their hands pure to approach the Gods, the purifiers of blood. But "George," you allege, "deſerved ſuch a "puniſhment." Allowed, and one even more ſevere. "And for us," you ſay. This alſo I will grant, but not by you. For you have laws, which you all ought to obey and revere; and though ſome individuals tranſgreſs them, yet ſtill the republic ſhould be well governed, you ſhould obey the laws yourſelves, and not violate thoſe which have hitherto been conſtantly well adminiſtered.

This is nobly done by you, men of Alexandria, in my reign, who, from my reverence towards God, and from a regard to my grandfather *, and

* Conſtantius-Chlorus.

my

my uncle and nameſake *, who governed Ægypt and your city, eſteem you with a brotherly affection. The undeſpiſed authority of a good and ſtrict government will never ſuffer the abandoned wickedneſs of its ſubjects to paſs unpuniſhed. A deſperate diſeaſe muſt be cured by rough preſcriptions. For the reaſons above-mentioned I adminiſter to you, however, the mildeſt, this epiſtle and reprimand, which I hope will have the more effect †, as you are by origin Greeks, and the laudable and illuſtrious ſtamp of that noble deſcent ſtill remains in your ſentiments and actions.

Let this be communicated to my citizens of Alexandria.

* Julian, afterwards Count of the Eaſt. See Epiſtle XIII. Note *.

† I cannot ſuppoſe that he flattered himſelf with correcting the Alexandrians merely by reprimands. Their tumults, which generally aroſe in the theatre, were ſo frequent, that the government hardly deigned to take notice of them. It found, no doubt, that they did themſelves ſufficient juſtice, for there was always ſome blood ſpilt. They were as fooliſh as the inhabitants of Antioch, and much more wicked. LA BLETERIE.

Epiſtle XI. To the Byzantines *

ALL your ſenators we have reſtored to you, and alſo thoſe of ſenatorial families, whether they have attached themſelves to the Galilean religion,

* This title ſeems to me faulty. I do not think that any Emperor, eſpecially in a law, has given the name of Byzantium to the city of Conſtantinople. But this is not my only reaſon for thinking that this law of Julian was not addreſſed to the inhabitants of New Rome. Whatever was the city to which Julian wrote, he declares to the citizens that he admits into their ſenate thoſe who by birth, or any other means, obliged to take their ſeats there, ſhould allege ſome exemptions and privileges, by way of excuſe. I have often mentioned the zeal of Julian to fill up the council of the cities. But that he had occaſion to employ his ſovereign authority to retain in the ſenate of Conſtantinople, or to recall to it, thoſe who ought to have been members of it, cannot be conceived. I know, that, at leaſt, till the reign of Theodoſius the Great, this ſenate was not in all reſpects equal to that of Rome, without being able to aſcertain in what that inequality conſiſted. But it was, without doubt, a very auguſt aſſembly, eſpecially when Conſtantius and Julian had augmented its prerogatives. With regard to the Eaſt, it was conſidered as the public council of the Roman nation. It there held in the political order the ſame rank which that of Rome held in the Weſt. The ſame titles were given to both ſenates. The Emperors gloried in being members and chiefs of both, &c. Thus, though the place of ſenator, even in the two capitals, was attended with very great expences, it muſt have been the object of the ambition of individuals; and we ſee that one of the methods which was employed to eſcape municipal dignities, obſcure and ruinous honours, was to obtain, when they could, the place or title of ſenator either

ligion, or have taken any other method of abſenting themſelves from the ſenate, ſuch as have filled any public office in the metropolis * excepted.

either of Rome or Conſtantinople. One law of Conſtantius had ſuffered eccleſiaſtics, in certain caſes and on certain conditions, to quit the *curiæ*, or municipal ſenates; and it is probable that Julian, as well from hatred to Chriſtianity, as from zeal for the *curiæ*, was deſirous to make the eccleſiaſtics ſit there again; as we ſee by one of his laws, XII *cod. Theod. tit.* I. *De decurionibus l.* 51. *Decuriones, qui ut Chriſtiani declinant munia, revocentur.* But who can be perſuaded that he wanted to force them to be ſenators of Conſtantinople? That would have been a ſtrange kind of perſecution. I could add many other reflections, were I not apprehenſive that they would make this note degenerate into a diſſertation, perhaps curious, but certainly miſplaced. I think I have ſaid enough to prove, that the word Βιζαντιοις, which appears in the title of this Epiſtle, has been put by miſtake, inſtead of ſome other ſimilar word, which I will not endeavour to reſtore, becauſe I ſhould only advance very uncertain conjectures. LA BLETERIE.

From this Epiſtle it ſhould ſeem that the place of ſenator was conſidered as a burthen rather than as an honour; but the Abbé de la Bleterie has ſhewn that this Epiſtle could not relate to Conſtantinople. Might we not read, inſtead of the celebrated name of Βιζαντιοις, the obſcure but more probable word Βισανθηοις? Biſanthe, now Rhodoſto, was a ſmall maritime city of Thrace. GIBBON.

* Εν τη μητροπολει. I ſuppoſe Rome and Conſtantinople. LA BLETERIE.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XII. To Basil *.

A. D. 361, or 362.

"YOU do not declare war †," ſays the proverb. But I add, from the comedy, "O "meſſenger of golden words!" Come then, exemplify this, and haſten hither. You will come a friend to a friend. Conſtant attendance on public buſineſs is fatiguing to thoſe who diſcharge it negligently; but thoſe with whom I act are diligent and induſtrious, and in every reſpect deſerving. I embrace therefore this opportunity, without neglecting public buſineſs, to take ſome relaxation. For being ſtrangers to the courtly hypocriſy (which you perhaps have experienced) of loading with

* There is not a word in this Epiſtle which can authoriſe the ſuppoſition of its being addreſſed to Baſil the Great. The name of Baſil was not uncommon. Who this was is unknown. As to the Epiſtles of Julian to St. Baſil, and from St. Baſil to Julian, which are printed with the works of that father, they are unworthy of either, both as to their ſtyle and matter. Their ſpurioufneſs is viſible at the firſt glance. La Bleterie.

† Ου πολεμον αγγελλεις. A common ſaying, when any one brings good news to a town, as war is the moſt calamitous of all things: and yet with the rumour of it many people at preſent are delighted; namely, thoſe who feed on the miſeries of mankind. Julian has doubled the proverb; as the following expreſſion, χρυσον αγγελλας επων, taken from the Plutus of Ariſtophanes, is alſo proverbial. They are the words of the old men, who ſupply the chorus, to Carion, who had informed them of the approach of Plutus. They are alſo adopted by Plato in his Phædrus; and again in his IIId book *De Legibus*. Erasmus.

praiſes

praiſes thoſe whom it really deteſts, with mutual freedom we accuſe, when neceſſary, and blame each other, yet are as cordial as the greateſt friends. Hence it happens, envy apart, that I find ſtudy a relaxation, and thus ſtudious as I am, I feel no anxiety, and ſleep ſerenely; as when I have watched, I have watched not for myſelf alone, but alſo for others. Thus far perhaps I have been trifling with you through mere idleneſs, and, like Aſtydamas *, I have praiſed myſelf. But I ſend this to inform you, that the company of a ſage like you will be highly ſerviceable to me. Haſten therefore, as I have ſaid before, making uſe of a public carriage †, and when you have ſtayed here as long as you pleaſe, you ſhall be conveyed wherever you think proper.

Epiſtle XIII. To his Uncle JULIAN ‡.

IT is now the third hour of the night, and having no ſecretary, as they are all employed, I with difficulty write you this. I am living, thanks to A. D. 361.

* An actor who, being ordered a ſtatue in the theatre, for his excellent performance of Parthenopæus, inſcribed his own elogium; whence the proverb, *Aſtydamas ſe ipſum laudat.* See Eraſmus *in Chiliad.* p. 627. It is alſo uſed by Julian, in his LIXTH Epiſtle, and by Libanius.

† The government furniſhed carriages to thoſe who travelled by order of the prince; and theſe were then called public carriages. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Afterwards Count of the Eaſt, the Emperor's maternal uncle. He had alſo been præfect of Ægypt. (See Epiſtle X.)

to the Gods, and have been preſerved from doing or ſuffering incurable evils. The ſun, whoſe aſſiſtance I particularly requeſted, and alſo royal Jupiter, can atteſt, that I never wiſhed the death of Conſtantius, but that I rather wiſhed the contrary. Why then did I wage war? Becauſe the Gods expreſsly commanded me, promiſing me ſafety if I obeyed, but, if I heſitated, that which all the Gods avert! By appearing openly in arms I thought I might intimidate him, and thus accommodate matters more eaſily; or, if a battle ſhould prove inevitable, I determined to rely on Fortune and the Gods, and to wait whatever their goodneſs ſhould determine.

Epiſtle XIV. To LIBANIUS *.

I READ yeſterday moſt part of your oration † before dinner; and after dinner, without intermiſſion, I finiſhed the remainder. How happy

At his requeſt, being alſo an apoſtate, and hating the Chriſtians with leſs diſtinction than his nephew, Julian pardoned the Pagan murderers of George at Alexandria. As ſoon as Julian had heard in Illyricum of the death of Conſtantius, he wrote this Epiſtle to his uncle by the meſſenger whom he diſpatched with the news of that intereſting event. LA BLETERIE.

* One MS. adds Σοφιστῃ και Κοιαιστωρι, "Sophiſt and Quæſtor." See the firſt note on Epiſtle XXVII, which is ſo ſuperſcribed.

† Perhaps this was the oration in praiſe of Julian, which is mentioned by Suidas; or perhaps one of the two that are publiſhed. BARONIUS.

are

are you to be able thus to ſpeak, or rather, thus to think! What a diſcourſe! what judgment! what an underſtanding! what wiſdom! what arguments! what an arrangement! what ſtrength! what language! what harmony! what compoſition!

Epiſtle XV. To the Philoſopher MAXIMUS *.

ALEXANDER of Macedon is ſaid to have ſlept upon the poems of Homer, that, night and day, he might be converſant with his martial inſtructions. A. D. 361.

* The boldeſt and moſt ſkilful maſter of the Theurgic ſcience, by whoſe hands Julian (after having imbibed the firſt rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from Edeſius) was ſecretly initiated at Epheſus, in the twentieth year of his age.

As ſoon as Julian had taken poſſeſſion of the palace of Conſtantinople, he diſpatched an honourable and preſſing invitation to Maximus; who then reſided at Sardis, in Lydia, with Chryſanthius, the aſſociate of his art and ſtudies. . . . His journey through the cities of Aſia diſplayed the triumphs of philoſophic vanity; and the magiſtrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their ſovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the ſenate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The Emperor immediately interrupted his diſcourſe, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midſt of the aſſembly; where he publickly acknowledged the benefits which he had received from the inſtructions of the philoſopher. Maximus, who ſoon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was inſenſibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dreſs became more ſplendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was expoſed, under a ſucceeding reign, to an enquiry into the means, by which the diſciple of Plato

instructions *. But I sleep with your epistles as so many Pæonian medicines, and am no more weary of perusing them, than if they were new and just received. To give me therefore in your correspondence a picture of yourself, write, I intreat you, and fail not to write frequently. Or rather come, with auspicious omens; and be assured that, during your absence, I cannot be said to enjoy life, except while I am reading your letters.

Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Three other Epistles (XVI, XXXVIII, and XXXIX.) in the same style of friendship and confidence, are addressed to this philosopher.

GIBBON.

Maximus and other philosophers accompanied Julian in his Persian expedition; and, when he was mortally wounded, some of his last words were a metaphysical argument with Maximus and Priscus on the nature of the soul, having Socrates no doubt in view. See Ammianus, xxx. 5. He was fined and imprisoned in the reign of Valens, and at last beheaded for magic by Festus, pro-consul of Asia, in 374.

Though Maximus was greatly respected, and much admired by the Emperor Julian, and many learned Heathens, as a great philosopher, and was also reputed to have commerce with the Gods, I do not think he was a wise man.

LARDNER.

* Of all the remains of antiquity, Alexander had the greatest esteem for Homer, who, he thought, was the only writer who had perfectly described that wisdom by which empires subsist; and such was his passion for him, that he was styled "Homer's lover." He used to carry his works always with him; and even when he went to bed, he put them and his sword under his pillow, calling them his "military viaticum, and the elements of martial virtue."

FREINSHEMIUS.

Epistle

Epiſtle XVI. To the ſame.

THE fable ſuppoſes, that the eagle, when he would try his genuine brood, carries them unfledged into the air, and expoſes them to the rays of the ſun, that by the teſtimony of that God he may diſtinguiſh the true from the ſpurious offſpring. But I offer my writings to you as to eloquent Mercury: and if they can bear your penetrating ray *, you will judge whether they are fit to be publiſhed. If not, throw them away, as ſtrangers to the Muſes; or plunge them, as ſpurious, in the river. Thus the Rhine, the decent avenger of adultery, does juſtice to the Celts †, by overwhelming illegitimate infants with his

* Την σην ακτινα in one MS. which ſeems preferable to ακοην ("hearing") the common hearing, as it continues the metaphor.

† On examining all the paſſages in which Julian has uſed the word *Celtes*, I have obſerved that he makes it ſometimes ſignify the Gauls, ſometimes the Germans, and at other times both of them. I think that it is employed in this latter ſenſe here. Claudian (*in Rufin.* l. ii.) reckons among the Gauls thoſe to whom he aſcribes the cuſtom of making their infants undergo the trial of water, by plunging them in the Rhine:

Thus the fierce Gauls with yellow locks proceed,
Whom the ſwift Rhone or ſlower Arar breed,
Or whom, new-born, the Rhine's deep current try'd,
Or whom Garunna waſhes with his tide,
When ſwell'd with torrents from the troubled main,
The refluent river floats the cover'd plain.

JAEEZ HUGHES.

But

But this poet does not aſcribe to them this cuſtom excluſively of the Germans. The nations ſettled on the two banks of the Rhine muſt have had nearly the ſame manners and the ſame cuſtoms, becauſe many of thoſe who inhabited the left ſide of that river were of German origin. We know alſo that the Germans plunged their children in cold water as ſoon as they were born, to aſcertain whether they were ſtrong, and to inure them to the cold, as did many other nations, and as, it is ſaid, ſeveral in America do at preſent.

As to the intention of proving the legitimacy of infants, it is probably a fable invented by the Romans. Seeing them plunge in the Rhine thoſe children of whom ſome periſhed through weakneſs of conſtitution, or by the miſmanagement of thoſe who bathed them; and judging, by their own corruption, of that of other nations, they imputed to the Germans ſome views which they had not, and an anxiety from which the prudence of the women ſufficiently preſerved their huſbands. Be that as it may, the moſt ancient authors who mention this motive are Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, and Libanius; but many have mentioned it ſince; among others, Nonnus, Theophylactus, Euſtathius, &c. I know not whether Claudian ſhould be added, as he does not mention the object of the trial. According to the author of a Greek epigram, quoted by Cluvier (*German. l.* 1.) infants were expoſed on the Rhine in a buckler. When a fable is once invented, circumſtances never fail to be added. I ſhall obſerve, however, that Julian, who in two paſſages mentions this trial, ſpeaks of it as a report in his ſecond Panegyric on Conſtantius; inſtead of which, in this Epiſtle to Maximus, ſubſequent to that diſcourſe, he expreſſes himſelf in an affirmative manner: a difference the more remarkable, as in the ſame Epiſtle he takes care to relate only as a fable what he ſays of the eagle and his young ones. Ο μεν μυθος ποιει τον αετον, κ. τ. λ. *Fabula fingit aquilam*, &c. But, after all, it is probable that Julian was really certain of the fact, that he had ſeen the nations bordering on the Rhine plunge their children in that river, but that he was miſtaken as to the motive. La Bleterie.

The other paſſage, to which M. de la Bleterie alludes, is the following, in the iid Oration: "It is ſaid, that, "among the Germans, there is a river, which is an in"fallible judge of chaſtity, which neither ſighing mothers,

his flood; but such as he acknowledges to be of a pure origin he supports above the water, and again delivers into the hands of the trembling mother, rewarding her with the safety of her child, as a testimony of her uncorrupt and irreproachable nuptials.

Epistle XVII. To Oribasius *.

WE are told by the divine Homer, that there are two gates of dreams, and that their credit, as to future events, is different †. I think you A. D. 358.

" nor fathers dreading the event for their wives and chil-
" dren, can persuade to conceal their shame, being always
" true and sincere."

That in those days of darkness and ignorance such a superstition might prevail, may easily be believed, when we consider, that in much later times female chastity was as absurdly subjected to the test of another element; and that even in our own country, polished as it is, and in our own memory, the aged of the same sex have been exposed to a trial similar to that above-mentioned, and drowning has been deemed the only method of exculpating them from the charge of witchcraft.

* Of Pergamus. He was physician to Julian, and one of the four domestics whom Constantius allowed him to retain when Cæsar. (See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 78.) Oribasius attended him to the Persian war, and in his last moments tried in vain all the resources of medicine. This letter must have been written in Gaul.

The Christian Emperors afterwards stripped him of all his fortune, and banished him among cruel Barbarians, by whom and their kings he was much esteemed, probably for his skill in physic or surgery. He was then recalled to his native country, had his estate restored to him, and married

you have had a clear inſight into futurity ‡. And

a wife with a large fortune. This we learn from his life, among thoſe of the ſophiſts, by Eunapius, who mentions him as living when he wrote, which was about the year 400, above forty years after his going into Gaul with Julian. Suidas ſays, that Oribaſius was of Sardis, and both he and Photius mention ſeveral of his works, particularly theſe four: I. "An abridgment of the works of Galen," in ſeveral books. II. "The ſentiments of other phyſicians, "as well as Galen," in ſeventy books. Both inſcribed to the Emperor Julian. III. "An abridgment of the other "two," in nine books, to his ſon Euſtathius. IV. "Another "compendious repreſentation of the principles of medi-"cine," in four books, inſcribed to Eunapius (probably his biographer), at whoſe deſire it was compoſed. LARDNER.

The Cæſar had rejected with abhorrence a mandate for the levy of an extraordinary tax; a new ſuperdiction, which the præfect [Florentius] had offered for his ſignature; and the faithful picture of the public miſery, by which he had been obliged to juſtify his refuſal, offended the court of Conſtantius. We may enjoy the pleaſure of reading the ſentiments of Julian, as he expreſſes them with warmth and freedom in a letter [the above] to one of his moſt intimate friends. GIBBON.

† Odyſſ. XIX. 562.

Immur'd within the ſilent bower of ſleep,
Two portals firm the various phantoms keep;
Of iv'ry one, whence flit, to mock the brain,
Of winged lies a light fantaſtic train:
The gate oppos'd pellucid valves adorn,
And columns fair incas'd with poliſh'd horn,
Where images of truth for paſſage wait,
With viſions manifeſt of future fate. FENTON.

Virgil has imitated this in Æneid VI. 893.

‡ It is obſervable, that Julian uſes this language to an intimate friend. Can his belief then in dreams be doubted? In what remains of his books againſt the Chriſtian religion, he affirms that "Æſculapius often cured him by remedies "which he had diſcloſed to him." The Pagans believed that that God appeared to them in their ſleep.

LA BLETERIE.

the

the ſame I myſelf alſo have had to-day *. A lofty tree † grew, I thought, in a ſpacious room, with its branches bending down to the ground, and from its root ſprouted another, ſmall and young, and very flouriſhing. For this plant I was very anxious, fearing leſt it ſhould be rooted up, together with the tree. Approaching nearer, I ſaw the large one fallen to the ground, but the ſmall one not only erect, but raiſed into the air. Seeing this, I exclaimed, with much concern, "What a "downfall is this! The root, I fear, will periſh "alſo." One, who was a ſtranger to me, then ſaid, "Obſerve with attention, and be not afraid! "For as the root ſtill remains in the ground, "the plant is unhurt, and will fix more firmly ‡." Such was my dream; what it portends God knows.

* Even in his ſleep the mind of the Cæſar muſt have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zoſimus relates a ſubſequent dream. GIBBON.

† This tree is Conſtantius, and the ſhoot Julian himſelf. LA BLETERIE.

‡ He here plainly intimates, that he ſhould ſucceed Conſtantius. To the ſame purpoſe is the following paſſage of Ammianus, XXI. 2. "As Cæſar Julian was brandiſhing "a buckler, which he was exerciſing with various motions "in the field, the pegs, by which it was faſtened together, being ſhaken out, the handle alone remained, "which he graſped hard in his hand. And all that "were preſent being terrified by the bad omen," 'Let "'no one,' he ſaid, 'be alarmed: I graſp firmly what "I held!'

As to that wicked and effeminate wretch *, I am very desirous to learn, when he thus discoursed concerning me, whether before we met, or since: inform me as far as you are able. He well knows, that frequently, when he oppressed the provincials, I was more silent than I ought; not hearing some things, not admitting others, not crediting a few, and imputing many to his friends and favourites. But when he thought proper to endeavour to brand me with infamy by sending me base and scandalous memorials to sign †, what was the proper step for me to take? To be silent, or to revolt? The former was foolish, mean, and odious; the latter was just, manly, and liberal, but, on account of some present circumstances, inconvenient. How then did I act? In the presence of many, who, I knew, would acquaint him with it, I said, "He will "certainly alter his plan, its injustice is so ap-"parent." Hearing this, instead of acting with discretion, he did what, by heaven, a common tyrant would have scrupled, and that almost before my eyes. In such a situation, what conduct could one, who is a zealous observer of the precepts of

* Τῳ μιαρῳ ανδρογυνῳ. He means Florentius, præfect of Gaul. LA BLETERIE.

See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 92. Petau and others understand this of the eunuch Eusebius.

† A scheme to augment the capitation. *Ibid.*

This, in the reign of Constantius, was in Gaul twenty-five pieces of gold, annually, for every head. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces. GIBBON.

Aristotle

Ariſtotle and Plato *, with propriety adopt? Should I abandon the wretched people to the mercy of theſe extortioners, or ſhould I not, to the utmoſt of my power, protect them, reduced as they are, by that profligate crew, to the laſt gaſp †? Shall I puniſh a military tribune, when he deſerts his poſt, with immediate death, and not deem him worthy even of interment; and ſhall I abandon my own ſtation, when I am called upon to defend the oppreſſed; a ſtation, in which I was placed by God himſelf? If diſgrace muſt be my portion, a pure conſcience is no ſmall conſolation. Would to heaven, that I were ſtill bleſſed with ſuch an excellent friend as Salluſt! ‡ If, on this account, I ſhould be ſuperſeded, I ſhall not be concerned; as a ſhort time

* It is plain that his illuſtrious actions proceeded from pedantry at leaſt, as much as from virtue. LA BLETERIE.

† In the original, Το κυκνειον εξαδειν, "they ſing the ſong "of ſwans." Julian here adopts the ancient poetical idea of the dying melody of this bird. And the ſame expreſſion of the "ſwan-ſong" is proverbially uſed to this day, in the ſame ſenſe, in Sweden. Yet even among the ancients it was doubted by Ælian, denied by Pliny, and ridiculed by Lucian, and by modern naturaliſts it is generally exploded. Some, however, have ſupported it. Mr. Jodrell, in his elaborate illuſtrations of Euripides, after employing thirty-four 8vo pages on the ſubject, recapitulates the modern evidence on both ſides; and a late writer in the Gentleman's Magazine (for 1782, p. 420.) wiſhes "Mr. Hunter "would aſcertain the capabilities of this common bird for "ſuch enchanting melody," as he has thoſe of the Curan-Outang for ſpeech; and queries "whether it may not re-"ſide, like that of bees and other flying inſects, in the "motion of the wings."

‡ An officer of great merit, by nation a Gaul. See the Conſolatory Oration on his departure, or recall, in Vol. I.

well ſpent is preferable to a long courſe of evil *. The Peripatetic philoſophy is not, as ſome think, more puſillanimous than that of the Stoics. In this only, I apprehend, they differ; the former is more ſanguine and leſs ſyſtematical; the latter more cool and prudent, urging a tenacious adherence to opinions.

Epiſtle XVIII. To the Philoſopher Eugenius †.

DÆDALUS, it is ſaid, formed waxen wings for Icarus ‡; and endeavoured by art to ſurpaſs nature. Though I admire his art, I cannot commend his prudence, in venturing to truſt the ſafety of his ſon to diſſoluble wax. But if I had the power, according to the wiſh of the Teian lyric, to be changed into a bird §, I would not fly to Olympus, or on any amorous purſuit, but to

* Such a conduct almoſt juſtifies the encomium of Mamertinus: *Ita illi anni ſpatia diviſa ſunt, ut aut Barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura reſtituat; perpetuum profeſſus aut contra hoſtem, aut contra vitia, certamen.* Gibbon.

† There is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that this Eugenius was the father of Themiſtius. For he alſo was a philoſopher, and of no ſmall reputation, if the teſtimony of his ſon may be credited. See the IId oration of Themiſtius. Petau.

‡ See Ovid. Metam. VIII. Fab. 3.

§ No ſuch paſſage occurs in any of the Odes of Anacreon that are known to us, or ſo ſtyled. See a note on the Miſopogon, p. 291. The idea is, certainly, Anacreontic.

the

the tops of your mountains, that, as Sappho says,

Thee, my care, I might embrace *.

Nature, however, having confined me in the prison of a human body, and not allowing me to elevate even my words on high, with such wings as I have I pursue you, with my writings, thus endeavouring to be with you as much as possible. Homer styles words "winged †," because they can fly any where, like the swiftest birds, and make what excursions they please. But do you, my friend, write also. For you have an equal, if not a larger, share of the wings of words, to enable you to reach your friends, and, as if you were present, every where to afford them delight.

Epistle XIX. To Ecebolus ‡.

PINDAR thinks that the Muses are of silver §, comparing the clearness and splendor of their art to the most splendid of all substances. The wise

* Ινα σε, το μελημα τυμον, περιπλεξωμαι.
This also must be in some Ode of Sappho that has not been preserved.

† Επεα πτεροεντα, Il. I. 201. II. 7. and innumerable other places. Thus also Virgil,

——————— *verbis*,
Quæ tutò tibi magna volant. Æn. XI. 380.

‡ The preceptor of Julian, a sophist, whose conscience was so supple, that he was constantly of the religion of the sovereign, and perhaps, in reality, of none. Under Constantius he inveighed against the Gods of the Pagans. Afterwards he declaimed for them; when his pupil Julian had

wiſe Homer ſtyles ſilver "ſhining *," and water "ſilvery †," as glittering by the bright rays of the ſun, and by its own ſplendid form. Fair Sappho calls the moon "ſilvery," and ſays, "on this account all the other ſtars are obſcured ‡." Some therefore may ſuppoſe that the Gods abound with ſilver more than gold. For that ſilver is more fit for the uſe of mankind, and better than gold, as being more eaſily attainable, and much more pleaſing and commodious, is not my idea, but that of the ancients.

had opened the temples again. And as ſoon as he heard of the death of that prince, he acted the part of a penitent by proſtrating himſelf at the doors of a church, and, in a lamentable tone, exclaiming to the faithful, "Trample me "under foot: I am like ſalt that has loſt its ſavour."

He made Julian promiſe, with the moſt dreadful imprecations, never to be the diſciple of Libanius; precautions likely to give Julian a greater taſte for that ſophiſt.

LA BLETERIE.

§ Pindar, in his VIIIth Iſthmian, ſtyles the Muſe "golden," (χρυσεαν); but I do not find that the epithet "ſilver" is ſo applied in any of his works now extant.

* Αιγληεντα.

† Αργυρεον. Neither of theſe epithets are to be found ſo applied in the Index of Homer by Seberus. They muſt therefore be in ſome work that has not reached us. Water indeed is often ſtyled "ſplendid," (αγλαον) both in the Iliad and Odyſſey.

‡ This alſo muſt be taken from ſome poem of Sappho that is loſt. The only paſſage in which the moon is mentioned in her few remaining works is in a fragment, and that without the epithet, which the tranſlator has added:

Δεδυκε μεν α σελαννα,
Και Πλειαδες, κ. τ. λ.
The Pleiads now no more are ſeen,
Nor ſhines the [ſilver] moon ſerene. FAWKES.

There-

Therefore, if for a piece of gold, presented by you, I return silver, as of equal value, think not the favour less, nor imagine, as in the case of Glaucus, that the exchange of armour is disadvantageous to you; and even Diomed perhaps exchanged his silver * arms for gold, because he thought those much more useful and more proper, like lead, to blunt the point of spears.

What you wrote has occasioned this jocularity. But if you would send me gifts more valuable than gold, write, and fail not to write incessantly. For a letter from you, however short, will be preferred by me to the most costly presents.

Epistle XX. To Eustochius †.

THE wise Hesiod thinks, that our neighbours ‡ should be invited to entertainments, that they may feast and rejoice together, as well as lament and mourn together, when they meet with any unexpected misfortune. But I think, that our friends, not our neighbours only, should be A. D. 362.

* Αργυρα χρυσων. In Homer the arms of Diomed are of brass: χρυσεια χαλκειων. Il. VI. 236.

M. de la Bleterie has not translated this Epistle.

† A native of Palestine, an eloquent orator, mentioned by Libanius in several of his Epistles. In one of them he says, "Eustochius, by his manners, conciliates every one; "they render those who are fierce gentle," &c.

‡ Works and Days, I. 340.

No friends forget, nor entertain thy foe,
Nor let thy neighbour uninvited go. Cooke, 457.

invited;

invited; becauſe a neighbour may be an enemy, but a friend cannot, any more than white can be black, or hot cold. That you are my friend, not only now, but have long been ſo, and that your regard for me has never varied, if there were no other evidence, my love and eſteem for you would ſufficiently prove. Come then, and partake the conſular feſtivity *. The public road will convey you, and you may command one carriage, and a ſupernumerary horſe †. To complete your wiſhes, I have invited the friendly Enodia and Enodius to meet you.

* It was a cuſtom for the conſuls elect to invite their friends to the conſulſhip, which was on the calends of January; this was called *rogare ad conſulatum*. And ſometimes the conſuls elect not only invited their friends by their own letters, but alſo by the letters of the prince himſelf cauſed them to be aſked to their conſulſhip by his agent; which honour, Libanius, in his oration on his own life, p. 67, ſpeaking of the conſul Richomeres, ſays, was firſt offered to him. Be that as it may, that the cuſtom was frequent in thoſe times we learn from the 5th and 6th books of the Epiſtles of Symmachus. And of the ſame kind is this Epiſtle of Julian. VALOIS.

Julian invited Euſtochius both as prince and conſul, which he was the ſucceeding year. Salluſt the ſecond was his collegue.

† This παρίππος I interpret to be a ſingle horſe, a third, in addition to the two that drew the carriage, which horſe, for the greater expedition, king Theodoric, in an Epiſtle preſerved by Caſſiodorus, forbade to carry more than an hundred pounds weight. The ſame indulgence is granted by Julian to Ætius, in Epiſtle xxxi. PETAU.

This is alſo omitted by M. de la Bleterie.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXI. To CALLIXENE *, Prieſteſs of Ceres.

TIME alone evinces men to be juſt. So we were taught of old. Let me add, pious and religious. But you ſay, the love of Penelope for her huſband was alſo thus demonſtrated. To this I anſwer, who can prefer, in a woman, conjugal love to piety, without being thought to have ſwallowed large draughts of mandragora †? And who that A. D. 362.

* It is plain, by this Epiſtle, that Callixene had been moleſted, on account of her religion, for twenty years, that is, during almoſt the whole reign of Conſtantius. The date of it may evidently be fixed to the time of the journey which Julian took to Peſſinus. LA BLETERIE.

See note * next page.

The enthuſiaſm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his perſonal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Chriſtian conſtancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perſeverance of thoſe Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the Gods to that of the Emperor. Thus he praiſes and rewards the fidelity of this prieſteſs, and thus, in Epiſtle XXVII, he applauds the firmneſs of Sopater of Hierapolis. GIBBON.

† Mandragora has ſuch a ſoporific quality, that, if we credit Pliny, (xxv. 11.) large draughts of it are fatal. It is alſo called Circean, becauſe its root is ſuppoſed to be uſeful in love-philtres. Therefore thoſe who neglect their duty, and fall aſleep, are ſaid "to have drunk much mandragora." ERASMUS.

Thus Shakſpeare, in Othello:

—— Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowſy ſyrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine thee to that ſweet ſleep
Which thou hadſt yeſterday. Act III.

conſiders

conſiders the times, and compares Penelope, though praiſed almoſt univerſally for her conjugal fidelity, with the pious matrons who lately hazarded their lives, and, in addition to theſe evils, twice the length of time, can juſtly put Penelope in competition with you?

Diſregard not theſe praiſes. All the Gods will reward you. We, for our part, will honour you with a double prieſthood, and to that, which you had before, of the moſt holy Goddeſs Ceres, we add the prieſthood of the great Mother, the Phrygian Goddeſs at ſacred Peſſinus *.

* The ſtatue of Cybele had been removed from this temple to Rome by Scipio Naſica many centuries before. See Livy, xxix. 10. and Pliny, v. 32. When Julian arrived on the confines of Galatia, in his way to Antioch, he quitted his route to viſit Peſſinus. And probably he compoſed there, in honour of the Mother of the Gods, that haſty diſcourſe which is ſtill extant, as "it coſt him," he ſays, "not a whole night," εν βραχει νυκτος μερει, after venting his anger on two Chriſtians, one of whom had pulled down the altar of the Goddeſs.

The Peſſinuntians had ſuch an indifference for the Mother of the Gods, their ancient protectreſs, that it is no wonder that this prieſthood was vacant. Julian confers it as Sovereign Pontiff, the head of the Pagan religion.

La Bleterie.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXII. To Leontius.

THE Thurian hiſtorian ſays, that "mens ears "are leſs faithful than their eyes *." But as to you I diſſent, and my eyes are leſs faithful than my ears. For though I were to ſee you ten times, I ſhould never truſt my eyes ſo much as I now truſt my ears; having heard, from one of unimpeached veracity, that, as you excell others in every thing elſe, you excell yourſelf in acting, as Homer expreſſes it, both "with hands and "feet †." Allowing you, therefore, the uſe of arms, we have ſent you a complete ſuit of armour proper for the foot, being lighter than that of the

* Thus Horace, in his Epiſtle to the Piſos,

——————— What we hear
More ſlowly moves the heart than what we ſee.

Julian ſtyles Herodotus, the author of this ſaying, "the "Thurian," becauſe he lived and died at Thurium, in Magna Grecia. It is taken from his Clio, ſpeaking of the queen of Candaules, whom he wiſhed to ſhew naked to his friend Gyges.

† When we mean to expreſs our utmoſt endeavours, we ſay, "with hands and feet." For by the "hands" is declared induſtry in performing, and by the "feet" ſwiftneſs in forwarding, an undertaking. Thus Hom. Il. XX. 360. Erasmus.

horſe;

horſe; and have enrolled you among our domeſtic guards, who conſiſt of ſuch as have borne arms, and ſerved in the army *.

Epiſtle XXIII. To HERMOGENES, formerly Præfect of Ægypt.

A. D. 361. ALLOW me to ſay, with the poets,

How bleſs'd beyond my hopes am I!

How much beyond my hopes have I heard of my eſcape from that many-headed Hydra †! I do not mean my brother Conſtantius (whatever he was), but the wild beaſts who ſurrounded him, whoſe eyes nothing could elude, and who made him more ſevere, who in his own diſpoſition was not the mildeſt, though he ſeemed ſo to many. But he is no more. On him therefore, as the ſaying is, light lie the earth! As to them, I would not have them, Jupiter knows, treated with the leaſt injuſtice; but as many charges are brought againſt them, I allow them a trial ‡. In order to be preſent,

* Symmachus, Epiſt. 67. Lib. III. "For to ſuch veterans "a prerogative is due, that they may have the rank of "guards, as a reward for their long ſervices." PETAU. This Epiſtle is omitted by M. de la Bleterie.

† Πολυκεφαλον [in one MS. τρικεφαλον] υδραν. Hermogenes was, like himſelf, converſant with the Greek poets. GIBBON.

‡ To conduct this enquiry, Julian named ſix judges of the higheſt rank in the ſtate and army; and as he wiſhed to eſcape the reproach of condemning his perſonal enemies,

preſent, haſten hither, my dear friend, even beyond your ſtrength; for, by the Gods, I have long wiſhed to ſee you: and as I have had the great ſatisfaction of hearing that you are well, I now command you to come.

Epiſtle XXIV. To the moſt excellent SERAPION *.

SOME preſent their friends with panegyrics; but I, as a delicious repaſt, have ſent you a hundred of our long-ſtalked, dried figs †; a gift whoſe beauty far exceeds its value. Ariſtophanes ſays, that "dried figs are the ſweeteſt of all things, "except honey;" and he is afterwards of opinion that not even honey is ſweeter ‡. The hiſtorian Herodotus thought that a true ſolitude was ſufficiently deſcribed by ſaying, "it has neither figs,

he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus, and transferred to the commiſſioners an abſolute power to pronounce and execute their final ſentence, without delay, and without appeal. They were a ſecond Salluſt, Præfect of the Eaſt, Preſident; the eloquent Mamertinus, one of the conſuls elect, and four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. *Ibid.*

* A ſenator, probably, of Conſtantinople.

† Pliny (*l.* xv. *c.* 18.) mentions, among the various kinds of figs [twenty-nine in all], thoſe of a purple colour (*porphyritides*) with very long ſtalks. PETAU.

‡ The only two paſſages in which Ariſtophanes mentions figs, are in his Knights, act II. ſc. 2. and his Acharnians, act. III. ſc. 3. and in neither of theſe are they compared with honey. Julian muſt therefore refer to ſome play, or work, that is not extant.

"nor

" nor any thing elſe that is good *." As if no fruit excelled figs, and where there were figs, nothing good could be wanting. Homer praiſes other fruits for their ſize, their colour, or their beauty; but to the fig alone he gives the appellation of " ſweetneſs †." Honey he calls " new ‡," fearing leſt he ſhould inadvertently ſtyle that ſweet which often happens to be bitter: on the fig alone he

* Herodotus, in the firſt book of his hiſtories, thus proves the excellence of figs: " You are preparing to " make war, O king, againſt men who wear breeches, " and other garments, of leather, who feed, not on what " they like, but on what they have, inhabiting a rugged " country; they have no wine, by Jove, but are water- " drinkers; nor have they figs to eat, *nor any thing elſe* " *that is good.*" ATHENÆUS.

The above is part of the ſpeech of Sandanis, a Lydian, who in vain attempted to diſſuade Crœſus from invading Perſia.

† In the garden of Alcinöus, Odyſſ. VII. 117. Συκαι τε γλυκεραι. κ. λ. τ.

The bluſhing fig with luſcious juice o'erflows. POPE, 148. And again, XI. 589. among the fruits that torment Tantalus, where though the line in the original is the ſame, Broome drops the epithet, and ſubſtitutes two of his own:

——Figs ſky-dy'd a purple hue diſcloſe.

" Homer's epithets," ſays Euſtathius, " are excellent. " For it is obſervable, that the poet gives every tree an " epithet ſuited to its peculiar nature. Thus the apple is " " beautiful," and its fruit, as he expreſſes it, " ſplendid" " (αγλαος) he therefore ſtyles the apple a " ſplendid-fruited " tree" (αγλαοκαρπος); among the autumnal fruits, the fig, " by way of eminence, " ſweet," and the olive " verdant."

‡ Μελι χλωρον, part of the entertainment given by Neſtor, in Il. XI. 630. and by Circe in Odyſſ. X. 234. Pope renders it in one place by " freſh," and in the other by " new-preſſed." The Latin tranſlator of Julian has made it *flavum*.

beſtows

beſtows this peculiar praiſe, as on nectar, becauſe of all things the fig only is ſweet. "Honey," ſays Hippocrates, "is ſweet to the taſte, but quite "bitter when digeſted *:" and I am of his opinion; for that it breeds bile is generally allowed, and gives the humours a different ſavour; which ſhews that it is in its nature rather bitter than ſweet. For it would never change to bitter, if it were not ſo originally, and afterwards became the reverſe.

But the fig is not only ſweet to the taſte, but eaſy of digeſtion. It is ſo uſeful to mankind, that Ariſtotle deems it an antidote againſt all poiſons, and ſays, that "for no other reaſon it is introduced at "the beginning and cloſe of meals; as, in pre-"ference to every thing elſe, affording a ſacred re-"medy againſt the injuries of food." That the fig is conſecrated to the Gods, and in all ſacrifices is placed on the altar, and is better for perfumes than any frankincenſe, is not merely my opinion; but all who are acquainted with its uſe know that ſuch alſo is the opinion of that ſage the Hie-

* Hippocrates ſays this, though not in theſe words, in ſubſtance, in his work *de internis affectionibus*, but of honey boiled: "Boiled honey is heating, and adheres to the "belly; but after it is digeſted, it ferments, and the belly "ſuddenly ſwells, and burns, and ſeems as if it would "burſt." Galen alſo, in his iiid book *de facultate alimentorum*, ſays, that "honey, in its nature, is ſubtle, and by "its acrimony ſwells the belly before it can be digeſted, ſo "as to be voided. Therefore by correcting this we render "it fitter for digeſtion and concoction." And this is done by mixing it with water, and boiling both together. For then, being clarified, it digeſts eaſily. PETAU.

rophant *. The excellent Theophraſtus †, in his precepts of husbandry, explaining what kinds of trees can be grafted on others, and the manner of engrafting them, commends, I think, above all, the fig-tree as capable of admitting various ſorts, and as being ſingular in eaſily bearing at the ſame time grafts of every kind, if you ſplit any of its boughs, and engraft upon them the ſhoots of other trees; ſo that it often reſembles a whole orchard, diffuſing, like a beautiful garden, the variegated ſplendor of different kinds of fruit. And while the fruits of other trees continue but a ſhort time, and attain no age, the fig alone ſurvives the year, and accompanies the growth of the ſucceeding fruit ‡. Homer therefore ſays, that, in the garden of

* Ανδρος σοφου και ιεροφαντου. I ſuppoſe that Julian here means the Eleuſinian pontiff, peculiarly ſtyled *Hierophantes*, or a revealer of ſacred things. He was obliged to devote himſelf to the divine ſervice, and lead a chaſte and ſingle life. He was attended by three officers, a torch-bearer, a herald, and one who aſſiſted at the altar. (See Epictetus, *l.* III. *c.* 21. and Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. I. c. 20.) This pontiff was ſuppoſed to be more profound even than Maximus in the ſcience of Theurgy. And Julian muſt have been well acquainted with his ſentiments, as he initiated him in the myſteries at Eleuſis, and was afterwards invited by that prince to the court of Gaul, to perfect his ſanctification. I am not confident, however, that the interpretation which I have given is the true one.

† Theophraſtus has treated on figs, and on the grafting of them in the IIrd book of his *Hiſt. Plant. c.* I. and 7. and alſo in his Iſt book *de Cauſis*, *c.* VI. PETAU.

‡ Theophraſtus alſo mentions ſome wild fig-trees which bore twice, and others thrice, in a year, as in the iſland of Ceos. The late Mr. Markland, in an ingenious illuſtration

of Alcinöus, ſome fruits grew old upon others *; which, as to other fruits, perhaps may ſeem a poetical fiction, but, as to the fig, is conſiſtent with truth, becauſe of all fruits it is the moſt laſting.

Such, I think, is the nature of the fig in general; but of all figs ours is far the beſt; as that is ſuperior to all other fruits, ours is ſuperior to all other figs, and though it excells every other kind of fruit, it is, in its turn, excelled by ours. And, to continue the compariſon, it not only ſurpaſſes, as is fit, all others, but even in thoſe particulars, where it ſeems inferior, it really excells. Nor is this undeſervedly our peculiar lot. For it was juſt, I think, that the true city of Jupiter, and the eye of the whole Eaſt, I mean the holy and moſt ſpacious Damaſcus, as ſhe is pre-eminent in every thing elſe, in the elegance of her ſacred rites, the magnificence of her temples, the happy temperature of her climate, the beauty of her fountains, the number of her rivers, and the fertility

tration of Mark xi. 13. adopted from Biſhop Kidder, refers "thoſe who will not be convinced that the tree ſhould "have figs on it at the time of the Paſſover," to the above paſſage of Julian. See Bowyer's Critical Conjectures and Obſervations on the New Teſtament, 4to, p. 65.

* Odyſſ. VII. 117.

Each dropping pear a following pear ſupplies,
On apples apples, figs on figs ariſe:
The ſame mild ſeaſon gives the blooms to blow,
The buds to harden, and the fruits to grow.
POPE, 154.

of her ſoil *, ſhould alſo be unrivalled in this wonderful fruit.

This tree will not bear tranſplanting, nor will it leave its native ſoil, diſdaining, like an indigenous plant, to grow any where but in the colony. Gold and ſilver are probably produced in various places; but our country is ſingular in giving birth to a plant which will not flouriſh in any other. As the wares of India, and the ſilks of Perſia, and all the valuable productions of Æthiopia, by the law of commerce are exported to all other parts of the world, ſo this our native fig is tranſmitted by us into all other countries; nor is there a city, or an iſland, to which its admirable flavour is unknown. It graces even royal banquets; of every entertainment it is the boaſt and ornament; nor is there any cake, or wafer, or conſerve, or any other kind of confectionary, that is comparable to it in ſweetneſs, ſo much does it excell all other dainties. Other figs are eaten in the autumn, or are dried for that purpoſe; ours alone are fit for either purpoſe; they are good on the tree, and when they are dried they are ſtill better. And were

* Damaſcus is ſituated in a very fertile plain at the foot of Mount Libanus, being ſurrounded by hills in the manner of a triumphal arch. It is bounded by a river which the ancients named Chryſorrhoas, as if it flowed with gold, and it is divided into ſeveral canals. Damaſcus has ſtill a great number of fountains, which render it extremely agreeable. Its fertile and delightful meadows, covered with fruits and flowers, contribute alſo to its fame.

MORERI.

you to obſerve their beauty when growing, how they hang from every bough by long ſtalks, like ſo many cups, and ſurround the tree in a circular form, thus exhibiting various charms, you would ſay, that what a necklace is to the neck, ſuch is this appendage to the tree. In the art of preſerving them, there is alſo no leſs ingenuity than there is pleaſure in eating them. For they are not, like other figs, thrown together in heaps, and promiſcuouſly dried in the ſun; but, firſt, they are gathered carefully from the trees, and then they are hung againſt a wall, by briars or twigs, that they may be bleached by the action of the pure rays of the ſun, and may alſo be ſecured from the attacks of animals and birds, being protected by the prickles as by ſo many guards.

In the praiſe of their origin, flavour, beauty, confection, and uſe, my epiſtle has been ſportive. Let me now inform you, that the number a hundred is more honourable than any other, and contains in itſelf the perfection of all numbers. I know indeed that the ancient ſages preferred an odd to an even number *. . . . . Homer ſeems to me

* Thus Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 75.—*Numero Deus impare gaudet.* Some paragraphs that follow in the original, being only a trifling play on the number a hundred, I have omitted, "as affording," in the words of M. de la Bleterie, "neither "entertainment nor inſtruction." The French tranſlator indeed has omitted the whole Epiſtle, and reprobates it in his preface, as one of thoſe "which turn on mere trifles." "I would ſuppoſe," he adds, "that this piece is only a

me to have given in his poem, not lightly or inconſiderately, a hundred-folded ſhield to Jupiter *; as he meant by this obſcurely, to intimate either that he appropriated the moſt perfect number, and that which would moſt honour him, to the moſt perfect God, or perhaps becauſe, as no number but a hundred deſcribes the world, which, on account of its rotundity, is diſplayed in the circular form of a ſhield, that intelligence which is ſo apparent in the world is alſo expreſſed by a century of circles. For the ſame reaſon, hundred-handed Briareus is placed near Jupiter, and contends with the Father to give an idea of his perfect ſtrength by a perfect number. Pindar alſo the Theban,

" proſtitution of wit and learning, and perhaps a criti-
" ciſm; for it appears, by the Letter itſelf, that ſuch
" elogiums were faſhionable." Wit and learning, however, are never more diſplayed than by giving importance and charms to trifles.

* The paſſage alluded to is in Iliad II. 447.

The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal ſhield,
Blaz'd on her † arm, and lighten'd all the field:
Round the vaſt orb a hundred ſerpents roll'd,
Form'd the bright fringe, and ſeem'd to burn in gold.

POPE, 526.

This ſnaky Ægis, but without the number, is deſcribed alſo in Il. V. 738.

But to make amends (which I wonder Julian ſhould omit) the helmet of the Goddeſs is deſcribed as εκατον πολεων πρυλεεσ' αραρυια, either, as Euſtathius ſays, " becauſe " it could cover a hundred warriors, or becauſe it had the warriors of a hundred cities engraved upon it." Pope adopts the latter, but amplifies the idea:

So vaſt, the broad circumference contains
A hundred armies on a hundred plains. 920.

† Minerva's.

when

when he celebrates the ſlaughter of Typhœus in a triumphal ſong, and aſcribes the ſtrength of this greateſt of giants to the greateſt king of the Gods *, beſtows ſuch extravagant applauſe on him, for no other reaſon than his being able to deſtroy this hundred-headed monſter with one blow; as if no giant was able to contend with Jupiter but he alone whom his mother had armed with a hundred heads, and as if no God but Jupiter was worthy of the conqueſt and deſtruction of ſuch a giant. Simonides, the Lyric poet, thinks it a ſufficient commendation of Apollo to ſtyle him Ἑκάεργον, and, in preference to any other title, adorns his name with this ſacred diſtinction, becauſe he ſlew the ſerpent Python, it is ſaid, with a hundred arrows; and he delights rather to be ſtyled Ἑκάεργον than Pythius, being diſtinguiſhed by that as by a ſurname †. The iſland Crete, the nurſe of Jupiter, as a reward for his birth and education, is now honoured with a hundred cities ‡. Homer ſtyles Thebes

* This muſt probably be in one of the Olympics that are loſt, as no ſuch paſſage, or "triumphal ſong", is extant.

† This ſeems a forced conſtruction. Apollo's name Ἑκάεργος is naturally derived from his ſhooting at a diſtance, like ἑκηβόλος, ſo often applied to him by Homer, and I do not recollect his being any where ſtyled Ἑκάεργον. The above-mentioned paſſage of Simonides is not in his few remaining fragments collected by Henry Stephens.

‡ Il. II. 649.

Crete's hundred cities pour forth all her ſons. POPE, 790.

It is obſervable, that in the Odyſſey, XIX. 174, only

— Ninety cities crown the ſea-born iſle. FENTON, 197.

Thebes " hundred-gated *," but gives this praiſe to no other, becauſe there is a wonderful beauty in a hundred gates. I ſay nothing of the hecatombs † offered to the Gods, of the temples a hundred feet wide ‡, the altars with a hundred baſes, the hundred rooms, the hundred-acred fields, and other things, divine and human, which are included in the appellation of this number. This number adorns the eſtabliſhments both of war § and peace ||, it exhilarates the military centuries, and with its addition honours the title of the judges.

on which Euſtathius remarks: " Crete is ' ninety-citied,' " in the Odyſſey, which is ' a hundred-citied' in the " Iliad, from an accidental circumſtance; for it is ſaid " that ten cities were deſtroyed by Idomeneus, at his re- " turn from Troy, when Leucus poſſeſſed it, whom, being " his ſon by adoption, he left guardian of the kingdom, " " a foſtered ſnake," as Lycophron ſtyles him; but thoſe " ten cities are ſaid to have been rebuilt after the Trojan " war. Others underſtand ' hundred-citied' here not in " a determinate ſenſe, but merely as ' many-citied.' For " ' a hundred' was ſometimes ſo uſed on account of the " diſtinction of that perfect number, like ' a hundred " fringes,' and the warriors of ' a hundred' cities. Thus " ' hundred-citied' Crete is ' many-citied.'" Virgil has followed the Iliad: *Centum urbes habitant magnas.* Æn. III. 106.

* Εκατόμπυλοι. Il. IX. 383.

That pours her heroes through a hundred gates.

POPE, 503.

† The ſacrifice of a hundred oxen.

‡ Εκατονπεδες. Such, as appears from Plutarch, was the temple of Minerva, in the citadel of Athens. SPANHEIM.

§ Centurions, captains over a hundred foot each.

|| *Centumviri*, judges choſen, three out of every tribe, to hear and determine certain civil cauſes.

I could

I could add more, did not the rules of epiſtolary compoſition forbid. Pardon me, if I have ſaid too much. Should it, in your opinion, attain mediocrity, the laudable attempt ſhall be communicated to others, ſuch is my confidence in your judgment. But if another hand ſhould be neceſſary to make it anſwer its intention, who better than you can poliſh this epiſtle ſo as to enable it to delight its readers?

Epiſtle XXV. To the COMMUNITY of the JEWS *.

FORMER times were not ſo grievous to you on account of the yoke of ſlavery, as on that of your being oppreſſed by ſurreptitious decrees, A. D. 362.

and

* We are informed by ſome or all our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who write of Julian, that he ſent for ſome of the chief men of the Jewiſh nation, and enquired of them, why they did not now ſacrifice, as the law of Moſes directed. They told him, that "they were not to ſacrifice "at any place, except Jeruſalem; and the temple being "deſtroyed, they were obliged to forbear that part of "worſhip." He thereupon promiſed to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem. And we ſtill have a letter of Julian, inſcribed, "To the Community of the Jews," which, however extraordinary, muſt be reckoned genuine. For Sozomen expreſsly ſays, that "Julian wrote to the patriarchs "and rulers of the Jews, and to their whole nation, de-"ſiring them to pray for him, and for the proſperity of "his reign." That is an exact deſcription of the letter which is inſcribed (as above). It was writ in the year 362, as Bleterie ſuppoſeth; in the beginning of that year, ſay Tillemont and the biſhop of Glouceſter. LARDNER.

Aldus

and obliged to pay large ſums into the treaſury; of which I ſaw much with my own eyes, and have learned more from the edicts which were preſerved

Aldus (*Venet.* 1499.) has branded this Epiſtle with an ει γνησιος; but this ſtigma is juſtly removed by the ſubſequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. It is mentioned by Sozomen (v. 22.) and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (*Orat.* IV. *p.* 111.) and by Julian himſelf, Fragment, p. 295. GIBBON.

What Gregory Nazienzen, in his ſecond invective, tells us of the conference that followed this letter, plainly ſhews it to be genuine. "Julian," he ſays, "aſſured the leaders "of the Jews, that he had diſcovered from their ſacred "books, that the time of their reſtoration was at hand." It is not a mere curioſity to enquire what prophecy it was that Julian perverted; becauſe it tends to confirm the truth of Nazianzen's relation. I have ſometimes thought it might poſſibly be the words of the Septuagint in Dan. IX. 27. Συνΐελεια δοθήσεται επι την ερημωσιν, the ambiguity of which Julian took the advantage of (againſt helleniſtic Jews, who, it is probable, knew no more of the original than himſelf), ſignifying *the tribute ſhall be given to the deſolate*, inſtead of *the conſummation ſhall be poured upon the deſolate*. For the letter in queſtion tells us he had remitted their tribute, and by ſo doing, we ſee, was for paſſing himſelf upon them for a ſecond Cyrus. WARBURTON.

It ſeems that the Jews, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, preſerved a ſort of monarchy till the beginning of the Vth century. They had in Paleſtine an Ethnarch, or chief of their nation, who, by the toleration of the Romans, was inveſted with great power. He ſtyled himſelf alſo Patriarch. His place was hereditary, and deſcended from father to ſon. All the ſynagogues of the Eaſt and Weſt paid him tribute, under the pretence of contributing to the ſupport of the Rabbins, who applied themſelves in Judea to the ſtudy of the law. Thoſe whom he commiſſioned to levy this tax were ſtyled *Apoſtles* or *Envoys*. Theſe patriarchs, who had made themſelves very odious by their extortions and rapines, did not exiſt in 429. See M. de Tillemont's *Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, tome I. LA BLETERIE.

againſt

againſt you. The tribute again ready to be levied upon you I have revoked; this infamous impiety * I have reſtrained; and the decrees againſt you remaining in my offices I have deſtroyed, that none may be able to circulate ſuch an impious report. Of theſe great oppreſſions the memorable Conſtantius, my brother, was leſs guilty than ſome men, barbarous in their underſtandings and wicked in their minds, who frequented his table; whom, arreſted by my own hands, and thrown into dungeons, I put to death, that no memorial of their deſtruction might remain among us †.

Deſirous

* Ασεβημα. Julian, deſirous of flattering the Jews, conſiders them as a ſacred nation, who could not be injured without impiety. La Bleterie.

† From this part it appears to have been written early in his reign, on his firſt coming to Conſtantinople, when he purged the city and palace of ſpies and informers, and the like peſts of a corrupted court. Warburton.

The chamber of juſtice, created by Julian, proceeded againſt the favourites and miniſters of Conſtantius with the utmoſt rigour. But that Julian thruſt any of them into dungeons "with his own hands," no where appears, and is not even probable. It muſt therefore be deemed a moſt extravagant exaggeration; or we muſt ſuppoſe, that the words εν χερσιν εμαις λαβουσος were added by ſome Jew. Though with Meſſrs de Tillemont and Fleury, I have made uſe of this Epiſtle in the Life of Julian, I own nevertheleſs, that this paſſage makes me in ſome meaſure ſuſpect it; and ſtrikes me much more than the ſtyle of the Epiſtle, which ſeems to me written with much leſs purity than the others; for, after all, it is not neceſſary for it to have been dictated by Julian himſelf, or that all his ſecretaries ſhould have been pure writers. It might alſo, as well as ſome others, have been written in Latin. La Bleterie.

In

Desirous to shew you still greater favours, I have urged my brother Julus *, your most venerable patriarch, to forbid the tax which you style apostleship, and no one shall oppress you by exacting such for the future, that you may enjoy ease and safety in all my dominions, and may be still more fervent in your prayers for my empire to the most excellent God, the creator of all things †, who

In the strange boast of his personal atchievement in thrusting down the delators into dungeons "with his own "hands" the Imperial character is so little preserved, that the learned M. de la Bleterie is almost tempted, on this single circumstance, to give up the letter as a forgery. But he here forgets what he himself had before mentioned of the strange escapes of this fantastic monarch: "St. "Gregory Nazianzen says, that Julian drove away with "cuffs and kicks the poor who came to solicit favours from "him." *Life of Julian*, b. IV. WARBURTON.

* Julian in this rescript forbids the assessments and tributes which the patriarchs of the Jews used to exact by apostles. Of the Jewish patriarchs, see *lib.* XVI. *Cod. Theod. tit.* 8. PETAU.

† This language of Julian is by no means a proof that the letter is forged. We shall see, in the conclusion, that he believed that the God of the Jews was the *Demiurgus*, who had created, or rather arranged, the universe. The *Demiurgus*, or Λογος, proceeded eternally, substantially, and of himself, from the first God, named The Being, the One and the Good. Whether the Platonists admitted a distinction of nature between The Being and the *Demiurgus*, or whether they only acknowledged a distinction of persons, or lastly, whether they considered the *Demiurgus* as an attribute of The Being, it is certain that they gave even the *Theurgus* the name of the first, the Supreme God. It was the *Theurgus* whom Julian worshipped under the name of the Sun-King, meaning not the orb which strikes our eyes, but an intelligence which pre-

who has condeſcended to crown me with his own pure hand. Thoſe who labour under any anxiety muſt neceſſarily be timid and diſpirited, and cannot elevate their hands with confidence in prayer; but thoſe who are utterly free from care rejoice with their whole hearts, and more frequently and more effectually offer their devout ſupplications to God that the ſtate may be governed in the beſt manner agreeably to my wiſhes. In this alſo you are deeply intereſted; that, after having happily terminated the Perſian war, I may dwell in the holy city Jeruſalem *, which you have long deſired to ſee inhabited,

preſides over that orb, and holds the ſame rank in the intelligent world which the material ſun holds in the ſenſible.
LA BLETERIE.

* Julian did not wait ſo long before he gave the Jews ſome proofs of his affection, or rather of his hatred to the Chriſtians, by the project which he formed of re-building the temple of Jeruſalem; a project, which, as Pagan writers themſelves atteſt, was confounded by one of the moſt aſtoniſhing and beſt atteſted miracles mentioned in hiſtory. *Ibid.*

On this remarkable event Mr. (afterwards Biſhop) Warburton, publiſhed, in 1750, his Diſcourſe, entitled, Julian, &c. (occaſioned by Dr. Middleton's Free Enquiry into the miraculous Powers) written, it is generally thought, with temper and candour, though Mr. Gibbon brands it "with all "the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian "ſchool," and charges the author with "revealing the "ſecret intentions of Julian, and, with the authority of a "theologian, preſcribing the motives and conduct of the "Supreme Being."

Dr. Lardner, however, (Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. IV. p. 47—71.) doubts the truth of this miracle. His reaſons are drawn from Julian's own writings (the

inhabited, and in that, reſtored by my labours, may with you glorify the Moſt High *.

(the above paſſage in particular, which intimates his intention of re-building Jeruſalem after his return from the Perſian war, which never happened), the improbability of his allotting money for ſuch an expenſive work when he was juſt ſetting out for Perſia, the credulity, in other inſtances, of Ammianus, the incredible miracles, or pretended miracles, with which the hiſtory of this event is loaded by Chriſtian writers, there being no occaſion, at that time, for ſuch a miraculous interpoſition to hinder that undertaking, and the ſilence of ſeveral Chriſtian contemporary writers, particularly Jerom, Prudentius, and Oroſius. He concludes thus: "Let not any be offended "that I heſitate about this point. I think we ought not "too eaſily to receive accounts of miraculous interpoſitions "which are not becoming the divine Being. There are "many things ſaid of Julian, which all wiſe and good "men do not believe." But let us hear another excellent writer.

The interpoſition certainly was as providential as the attempt was impious. . . There are indeed many witneſſes to the truth of the fact, whom an able critic † hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order: "Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemuch David a Jew, who confeſſes that Julian was *divinitus impeditus*, 'hindered by God, in this attempt,' Nazianzen and Chryſoſtom among the "Greeks, St. Ambroſe and Ruffinus among the Latins, who "flouriſhed at the very time when this was done; Theodoret and Sozomen, orthodox hiſtorians, Philoſtorgius an "Arian, Socrates a favourer of the Novatians, who wrote "the ſtory within the ſpace of fifty years after the thing "was done, and whilſt the eye-witneſſes of the fact "were yet ſurviving." But the public hath been obliged with the beſt and fulleſt account of this whole tranſaction in Dr. Warburton's Julian, where the evidence for the miracle is ſet in the ſtrongeſt light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confuſion of infidelity. Biſhop NEWTON.

* The blind ſuperſtition and abject ſlavery of theſe unfortunate exiles muſt excite the contempt of a philoſophic

† Whitby's general Preface, p. xxviii.

Emperor;

To THE PRINCIPAL PHYSICIANS. An Edict *. 12 June, 362.

That the medical art is ſalutary to mankind, experience clearly demonſtrates. The philoſophers therefore juſtly teach that it came down from heaven; for the weakneſs of our nature, and the frequent diſorders to which we are liable, are by that corrected. Therefore, as reaſon and juſtice require, and according to the example of former princes †, we, from our benevolence, exempt you, for the future, from the ſenatorial functions.

Dated at Conſtantinople, on the 4th of the ides of May, in the conſulſhip of Mamertinus and Nevitta.

Epiſtle

Emperor; but they deſerved the friendſhip of Julian by their implacable hatred of the Chriſtian name. GIBBON.

* This law was, without doubt, written originally in Latin. An abridgement of it is found, with the title and date, in the Theodoſian Code, XIII. *t.* 3. *de medicis et profeſſoribus.* It is addreſſed *ad archiatros.* The title of *archiatri* was given to the phyſicians of the Emperor, and to thoſe who practiſed phyſic in the two capitals. It is therefore to the phyſicians of the court, and to thoſe of Rome and Conſtantinople, that this law of Julian is addreſſed. LA BLETERIE.

† The Imperial laws exempted the principal phyſicians from every public office. They could not be obliged to be members of the council, nor to exerciſe the magiſtracies in the municipal towns. If they became ſenators of Rome or Conſtantinople, they enjoyed ſome honours and privileges annexed to that office, without being required to diſcharge its functions, or to bear its burthens, &c. See the Theodocian Code, at the title juſt quoted, and the notes of Godefroi. Theſe privileges were as early as the reign of Auguſtus. They had been confirmed by a great number of Emperors, and very recently by Conſtantine, whoſe laws are ſtill in being. But it is well known that Julian was the declared enemy of exemptions, and that he loved to undo what Conſtantine had done. The phyſicians therefore were uneaſy. Julian, however, maintained them

Epiſtle XXVI. To the ALEXANDRIANS. An Edict *.

A. D. 362. ONE who had been baniſhed by ſo many Imperial decrees ſhould have waited at leaſt for one edict † before he returned home, inſtead of contumelioufly inſulting the laws, as if there were none in being. For we have not allowed the Galileans, who were baniſhed by Conſtantius, of

in their privileges. The Latin text ſeems to give them more than is granted to them in the Greek. *Securi à moleſtiis munerum omnium publicorum reliquum tempus ætatis jugiter agitabitis.* The Greek only ſays, των βουλευτικων λειτουργιων. It is remarkable that the exemptions of the profeſſors, though they were the ſame as thoſe of the phyſicians, and though Conſtantine had confirmed them by two laws, were not attacked. It was notorious that Julian's love of literature, and of thoſe who taught it, exceeded his hatred of exemptions, and even of Conſtantine. LA BLETERIE.

* Athanaſius had been baniſhed once by Conſtantine, and twice by Conſtantius. He was in his third exile when Julian recalled all thoſe whom Conſtantius had baniſhed on account of religion. Prudence did not allow Athanaſius to avail himſelf of this recall while his ſee was occupied by George of Cappadocia. But ſoon after the death of the uſurper (ſee p. 18.) he returned to his church, where the Pagans did not ſuffer him to remain long in quiet. They repreſented to the Emperor that Athanaſius would pervert the whole city, and that, if he continued there, not a ſingle Heathen would ſoon be found there. Their complaints determined Julian to iſſue this edict. *Ibid.*

† This was not neceſſary, as Julian had, without diſtinction, recalled all thoſe whom Conſtantius had baniſhed for the "madneſs" of the Galileans. *Ibid.*

bleſſed

eſſed memory, to return to their churches *, but only to their countries. Yet I hear that he moſt audacious Athanaſius, with his uſual inſolence, has again uſurped what they call the epiſcopal throne; and that this has not a little diſpleaſed the people of Alexandria †. We therefore command him to depart from the city on the very day that he ſhall receive the letter of our clemency; and if he remain there, he may expect a much ſeverer puniſhment.

Epiſtle XXVII. To the Sophiſt and Quæſtor LIBANIUS ‡.

ON my arrival at Litarbe §, a town in Chlcis, I found a road where were ſome remains of the Antiochian winter camp. One part of it was; moraſſy; March, 363.

* Whether Julian thought of this diſtinction at firſt, or whether it was an after-ſtroke, that this prince employed it only againſt Athanaſius is glorious to that prelate. LA BLETERIE.

This explication ſeems evaſive, and perhaps was now firſt thought of. LARDNER.

† This was the "pious" people who tore "men in pieces "as if they had been dogs." [See Epiſtle X.] LA BLETERIE.

‡ It appears that Julian had given Libanius the honorary title of Quæſtor. But Eunapius reports, that Libanius refuſed the honorary rank of Prætor an Præfect, which one of the ſucceſſors of Julian would have given him, as leſs illuſtrious than the title of Sophiſt (*in vita Sophiſt.* p. 135.) The critics have obſerved a ſimilar ſentiment in one of the Epiſtles (XVIII. *edit. Wolf.*) of Libanius himſelf.

morassy; the other hilly, and extremely steep; over the morass loose stones were placed by chance, and not artfully cemented, as roads are in a manner built n other places, where, instead of sand, the stones are laid in mortar, as in a wall. Passing this with some difficulty, I reached my first stage *, about the ninth hour, where I saw in the hall the principal part of your senate †. Of the subject of our conversation, though perhaps you may have heard it already, if the Gods permit, I will inform you. From Litarbe I proceeded to Berea ‡, where Ju-

In this Epistle Julian gives the journal of his march from Antioch to Hierapolis. LA BLETERIE.

He informed Libanius of his progress in an elegant Epistle, which displays the fertility of his genius, and his tender regard for the sophist of Antioch. GIBBON.

§ This place Euagrius mentions, *l.* v. *c.* 12. and says, it was three hundred stadia from Antioch. PETAU.

* It is singular that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. GIBBON.

† The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied him beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. *Ibid.*

‡ Now Aleppo. The inhabitants of this place are recorded with honour in the *Acts of the Apostles*, ch. XVII. for the *readiness of mind* with which *they received the word*, preached by Paul, *and searched the scriptures daily whether those things were so.* By Julian's account, they still adhered to their Christian principles, receiving, as Mr. Gibbon expresses it, "with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the Apostle of Paganism."

St. Basil has addressed two Epistles to the inhabitants of Berea, applauding their piety. See his works, vol. III. p. 1006.

piter,

piter, by the cleareſt omens, declared all things auſpicious. Staying there a whole day, I viſited the caſtle, and royally ſacrificed to Jupiter a white bull *. With the ſenate I converſed a little on matters of religion, but though they all praiſed my diſcourſe †, a few only were convinced by it; however, they were ſuch as, before I ſpoke, I thought ſenſible; the others aſſumed a kind of licence, and ſeemed totally deſtitute of ſhame. Men are apt to be extremely abaſhed at qualities that are laudable, ſuch as fortitude of mind and

* He was more a ſuperſtitious than a legal obſerver of ſacred rites, ſacrificing innumerable cattle without parſimony, ſo that it was thought, if he had returned from Perſia, oxen would have been wanting; like Marcus Cæſar, of whom, we are told, it was ſaid, "White bulls to Marcus "Cæſar:" 'If you conquer, we periſh' AMMIANUS.

To Capitoline Jupiter white victims only were ſacrificed in triumph. See *Turneb. l.* 29. 26.

† The ſon of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Berea, who had embraced, either from intereſt or conſcience, the religion of the Emperor, had been diſinherited by his angry parent. The father and the ſon were invited to the Imperial table. Julian, placing himſelf between them, attempted, without ſucceſs, to inculcate the leſſon and example of toleration; ſupported, with affected calmneſs, the indiſcreet zeal of the aged Chriſtian, who ſeemed to forget the ſentiments of nature, and the duty of a ſubject; and at length, turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since "you have loſt a father," ſaid he, "for my ſake, it is "incumbent on me to ſupply his place."

Julian alludes to this incident [above]; which is more diſtinctly related by Theodoret (*l.* III. *c.* 22) The intolerant ſpirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont, (*Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom.* IV. *p.* 534.) and even by La Bleterie (*Vie de Julien, p.* 413.) GIBBON.

piety; but in the baſeſt actions and ſentiments *, in ſacrilege and puſillanimity, they have the confidence to glory.

Batnæ next received me, a place to which I never ſaw any ſimilar but Daphne †. But though Batnæ may now vie with Daphne, not long ago, when the temple and the image were in being, I ſhould, without ſcruple, not only have compared Daphne to Oſſa, Pelion, Olympus, and Theſſalian Tempe, but even have preferred it to them all. The place above-mentioned is dedicated to Olympic Jupiter and Pythian Apollo. But on the ſubject of Daphne you have compoſed an oration ‡, ſuch as no other mortal,

Of thoſe who live in theſe degenerate days §, with his utmoſt efforts, could have written, and, I think, not many of the ancients. Why therefore ſhould I enlarge upon what has ſo elegantly been deſcribed by you? Far be that idea!

* Μαλακια γνωμης και σωματος. It is not ſurpriſing, that by the Pagans that abſtraction and contempt of the world, with which the goſpel inſpires every true Chriſtian, ſhould be deemed meanneſs of ſpirit. But why is not Julian aſhamed to blame in the Chriſtians thoſe virtues whoſe very ſhadow he adored in the philoſophers? See his Epiſtle to Themiſtius. LA BLETERIE.

† See an elegant deſcription of Daphne by Mr. Gibbon, in a note on the Miſopogon, Vol. I. p. 280.

‡ This lamentation is ſtill extant in the works of Libanius, and compoſes his IXth Oration. It is entitled, "A "Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne, conſumed "by fire, or, as it is ſaid, by lightning." It is tranſlated in this volume.

§ Hom. Il. V. 304.

At Batnæ (though the name is barbarous, the town is Greek) we inhaled the fumes of incenſe from all the adjacent country, and ſaw victims every where prepared. This, though it much pleaſed me, ſeemed rather too fervent and foreign to religion *. For ſacrifices ſhould be offered in private, far from all public roads and paſſengers, and all that is required is a ſupply of victims and offerings. But this by proper care may be eaſily corrected.

Batnæ is ſituated on a plain ſkirted by a grove of cypreſſes, none of which were old or decayed, but all were equally young and flouriſhing. My palace was by no means magnificent, being conſtructed of clay and boards, and having nothing ornamental. Nor could the garden vie with that of Alcinöus †, but rather reſembled that of Laërtes ‡. There was alſo a ſmall grove of cypreſſes, and a row of thoſe trees was planted along the walls: in the middle were pot-herbs and fruit-trees of every kind. I ſacrificed there in the evening, and again early in the morning, as was my conſtant cuſtom every day; and as the rites were auſpicious, we proceeded to Hiera-

* He too clearly diſcerned that the ſmoke which aroſe from their altars was the inceuſe of flattery, rather than of devotion. GIBBON.

† Odyſſ. VII. 112.

‡ Ibid. XXIV. 204.—Laërtes cultivated land.

The ground himſelf had purchas'd with his pain,
And labour made the rugged ſoil a plain.

POPE, 235.

polis *, where we were met by the citizens, and I was received as a gueſt by one whom, though I had ſcarce ever ſeen him before, I had long eſteemed. Though you are well acquainted with the reaſon, I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of repeating it; for to hear and ſpeak of theſe perſons is always nectar to me. Sopater, the father-in-law of this, was a diſciple of the moſt divine Jamblichus †. Did I not love all that were connected with him, I ſhould deem myſelf guilty of the

* Hierapolis, ſituate almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates, had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman army, who there paſſed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previouſly conſtructed.

GIBBON.

The ancient and magnificent temple, which had ſanctified, for ſo many ages, the city of Hierapolis, no longer ſubſiſted; and the conſecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred prieſts, might haſten its downfall. *Ibid.*

† Of Chalcis, a Pythagorean philoſopher, the diſciple of Porphyry, and uncle to the philoſopher of the ſame name, to whom Julian has addreſſed ſix ſubſequent Epiſtles, and whom M. de la Bleterie ſuppoſes to have been here meant; but as I underſtand that the father-in-law of this Sopater (then dead) had been his diſciple, it ſeems rather more applicable to the elder Jamblichus. The elder Sopater was probably that Platonic philoſopher who was put to death by Conſtantine the Great, being ſtyled, by Suidas and others, "a diſciple of Jamblichus."

The French tranſlator alſo ſtyles this Sopater of Hierapolis the "ſon-in-law" (as well as "pupil") of Jamblichus, for which I can ſee no authority in the original, or in any other author. Let the reader judge. Ιαμβλίχῳ τε θειοτάτῳ τὸ θρέμμα Σωπάτρος, τοῦτο κηδεστὴς ἐξ ὅτου. In the French, *Sopatre eſt l'élève et le gendre du divin Jamblique*, meaning the younger of theſe philoſophers, then living.

worſt

worſt of crimes. But there is another reaſon ſtill more cogent. Having often entertained at his houſe my couſin and my brother *, and, as might well be ſuppoſed, being ſtrongly urged by them to apoſtatiſe from the Gods, he had the great merit of never being infected with that contagion.

Theſe particulars, immediately relating to myſelf, I now communicate to you from Hierapolis. As to military and civil tranſactions, you ſhould be preſent to ſee and obſerve them yourſelf. For, be aſſured, if they were diſtinctly related, they could not be compriſed in a letter of twice the length of this. But, as I am writing, I will briefly mention them. I have ſent an embaſſy to the Saracens †, urging them, if they are ſo inclined, to join us. This is the firſt article. Next, I have diſpatched, as was proper, ſome obſervant ſpies, leſt any deſerter ſhould acquaint the enemy with our motions. Add to theſe, I have decided a military diſpute ‡, I am perſuaded, with lenity and juſtice.

* Conſtantius and Gallus.

† A wandering people in the deſerts of Arabia [who ſtretched from the confines of Aſſyria to the cataracts of the Nile], warlike and ſelf-intereſted, dangerous enemies and burthenſome friends. *Nec amici nobis unquam nec hoſtes optandi*, are the words of Ammianus. The love of rapine and war allured ſeveral of them to the imperial ſtandard, though Julian ſternly refuſed the payment of the accuſtomed ſubſidies. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Στρατιωτικην δικην. M. de Tillemont ſuſpects that this relates to a fact mentioned by St. Chryſoſtom. Being

juſtice. I have procured excellent horſes and mules, and my army is aſſembled. The boats are filled with corn, or rather with biſcuit and vinegar. What a long letter would it require to tell you how each of theſe points was accomplished! What was ſaid on every ſubject you may eaſily gueſs. As to the happy omens *, having recorded them in many letters and books, which I every where carry with me, why ſhould I trouble you with the repetition?

ready to paſs the Euphrates, Julian made an attempt to gain ſuch of his ſoldiers as were ſtill Chriſtians. Some ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced, but the reſt refuſed, and the Emperor did not dare to caſhier them, for fear of weakening his army. *Ibid.*

* Infatuated with his expedition, he ſaw every thing in the beſt light, and only kept a regiſter of what he conſidered as happy preſages. He paſſes over in ſilence the fatal accident which happened when he made his entry into Hierapolis. Fifty ſoldiers were cruſhed to death by the fall of a portico, and many more wounded. Ammianus XXIII. 2. *Ibid.*

Another bad omen is mentioned by Ammianus at Batnæ in Oſdroëna (after the date indeed of this letter), fifty men being alſo killed there by the fall of a ſtack of ſtraw.

Julian ſtayed three days only at Hierapolis, and then proceeded to Carrhæ in Meſopotamia, fourſcore miles diſtant.

This is the laſt Epiſtle of his writing that is extant.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXVIII. To Duke GREGORY *.

A SHORT letter from you is ſufficient to give me great pleaſure. Being much delighted therefore with what you have written, I return you many thanks. The love of our friends ſhould be meaſured, not by the length of their epiſtles, but by the extent of their affection.

Epiſtle XXIX. To ALYPIUS †, the Brother of CÆSARIUS.

SYLOSON ‡, it is ſaid, came to Darius, reminded him of a cloak which he had formerly given him, and in return requeſted Samos. Darius A. D. 361, or 362.

* Though the military Counts and Dukes are frequently mentioned both in hiſtory and the codes, we muſt have recourſe to the *Notitia* for the exact knowledge of their number and ſtations. The ſecond of thoſe appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word, which was indiſcriminately applied to any military chief. All theſe provincial generals were therefore dukes. GIBBON.

The Greek word is ηγεμων, which M. de la Bleterie tranſlates *Commandant des troupes.*

† Among the friends of the Emperor (if the names of Emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the firſt place was aſſigned by Julian himſelf to the virtuous and learned Alypius. The humanity of Alypius was tempered by ſevere juſtice and manly fortitude; and while he exerciſed his

Darius afterwards was much elated, thinking that he had returned a great preſent for a ſmall one. But

his abilities in the civil adminiſtration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compoſitions, the harmony and ſoftneſs of the odes of Sappho. [See the next Epiſtle.] GIBBON.

This miniſter, who is ſtyled by Ammianus "a man of an amiable character," and who, like himſelf, was a native of Antioch, afterwards received from his maſter, juſt before he ſet out for the Perſian war, the extraordinary commiſſion to rebuild, in conjunction with the governor of the province, the temple of Jeruſalem. But the attempt was defeated, as Ammianus, a Heathen and a contemporary, relates (XXIII. 1.), by a miraculous interpoſition, "dread-"full balls of fire (*metuendi globi flammarum*), breaking out "frequently near the foundations, and rendering the place "inacceſſible to the ſcorched and blaſted workmen." The truth of this miracle Mr. Gibbon queſtions, and even Dr. Lardner has doubted. The reaſons adduced by the latter have been briefly mentioned, p. 62. "A philoſopher (ſays Mr. G.) "may ſtill require the original evidence of "impartial and intelligent ſpectators." But Ammianus alſo was "a philoſopher," and therefore, no doubt, "required" and had the "original evidence" of his fellow ſoldiers, of his friend and countryman Alypius, in particular; and would not raſhly have named him, and related a fact, which, if falſe, muſt have been immediately contradicted. In the reign of Valens, after having been long in a private ſtation, Alypius and his ſon Hierocles, a youth of an excellent diſpoſition, were both apprehended on a charge of poiſoning. Alypius was deprived of his eſtate, and baniſhed. And the ſon, when he was leading to execution, was happily ſaved. How is not mentioned. Amm. XXIX. 1. Yet Libanius (Ep. XXV. &c.) mentions this Hierocles as periſhing in the earthquake at Nicomedia, in 358.

‡ Syloſon was the brother of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. See Herodotus, *l.* III. *c.* 140. and Ælian. *Var. Hiſt. l.* IV. *c.* 5. He gave his cloak at Memphis to Darius, when that prince was only one of the guards of Cambyſes. Julian relates the ſame ſtory in his IIId Oration.

"The

But Syloſon found it a woeful gift *. Compare my conduct with that of this prince. In one reſpect I have the advantage. I did not want to be reminded, but retained the remembrance of you unimpaired, and on the firſt opportunity that God gave me I ranked you, not among my ſecond but my firſt friends. So much for the paſt.

As to the future, will you allow me (for I am a prophet) to predict? We ſhall be more ſucceſsful, I doubt not, if Nemeſis be propitious. For you need not a prince to aſſiſt you in deſtroying a city, but I require the aſſiſtance of many in re-building thoſe that have been deſtroyed †. Such is the pleaſantry of my Gallic and barbarous Muſe ‡. Come with the auſpices of the Gods.

P. S. *In his own hand-writing.*

"The cloak of Syloſon," (η Συλοσωνος χλαμυς) is adduced by Eraſmus (*Chil.* p. 352.) as a proverb applied to "thoſe "who boaſt and pride themſelves on their dreſs." And (he adds) "it may be properly ſaid of thoſe to whom a ſmall "gift, ſeaſonably beſtowed, returns with large intereſt;" and then relates, as the origin of it, the above ſtory from Herodotus.

* Syloſon was put in poſſeſſion of Samos, but the city being taken, it was pillaged by the Perſians, ſo that he only reigned over a deſert. LA BLETERIE.

† This perhaps may allude to the forty cities in Gaul, which, Zoſimus ſays, the Barbarians deſtroyed, and Julian rebuilt. See the Epiſtle to the Athenians, Vol. I. p. 84.

‡ Julian ſomewhere ſays, [Ep. LIV.] that his reſidence in Gaul had made him a Barbarian, ſo that he had almoſt forgotten Greek. He would have been ſorry to have been taken at his word. LA BLETERIE.

There

There is ready for you plenty of game, goats and ſheep *, which we hunt in our winter-quarters. Come to a friend who loved you before he knew your worth.

Epiſtle XXX. To the ſame †.

I WAS juſt recovering from an indiſpoſition, when I received the geography ‡ that you ſent me, nor was the book leſs acceptable for coming from you. For it contains not only better deſcriptions than any book of the kind, but you have

* Αγις εριφων και της εν τοις χειμαδιοις θηρας των προβαλειων.

This paſſage is obſcure and perhaps corrupted. Does Julian mean to ſay that the winter did not allow hunting; and that there was nothing at his table but butcher's meat? But Julian was not fond of dainties, nor, as I recollect, of hunting. No more might Alypius. The meaning is, that the troops of Julian made incurſions, during the winter, on the territories of the enemy, and carried off flocks and herds. If ſo, this Epiſtle muſt have been written in the Gauls before the abſolute rupture between Julian and Conſtantius. Alypius might be then in Britain, where, we know, he was employed before the reign of Julian. *Britannias curaverat pro præfectis*, ſays Ammianus Marcellinus. LA BLETERIE.

Vice-præfect therefore, or vicar, was his proper title, Britain being one of the dioceſes that were governed by a magiſtrate ſo named, ſubordinate to the Præfect of the Gauls.

† La Bleterie has neglected to tranſlate this Epiſtle. It was probably addreſſed to Alypius, while he was governor of Britain. GIBBON.

‡ This geography ſeems to have been the compoſition of Alypius. Moreri ſays, "another geographical work "is alſo aſcribed to him, which was a deſcription of the "old world."

alſo

alſo embelliſhed it with Iambics, not "ſinging a Bupalian * war," as the Cyrenean poet † expreſſes it, but ſuch as fair Sappho would have thought worthy of adapting to her hymns. Such a work it may be proper perhaps for you to give, but certainly it is moſt agreeable to me to receive. With your adminiſtration of affairs, as you ſtudy to act, on all occaſions, both with diligence and mildneſs, I am highly ſatisfied. For to blend lenity and moderation with fortitude and reſolution, and to exert thoſe in encouraging the good, and theſe in correcting the wicked, requires, I am confident, no ſmall degree of genius and virtue.

May you have theſe objects always in view, and make both ſubſervient to your own honour! The wiſeſt of the ancients juſtly thought that this ſhould be the end propoſed by every virtue ‡. May health and happineſs be your portion as long as poſſible, my moſt eſteemed and beloved brother § !.

Epiſtle

* Bupalus, a ſtatuary, made the image of the poet Hipponax, who was very deformed in perſon, in ridicule; which he reſenting, wrote ſuch ſevere Iambics againſt him, that he hanged himſelf. This was the common report, which Horace (Epod. v. 14.) ſeems to confirm. But Pliny (xxxvi. 5.) ſays, that report was falſe. Hipponax is reprobated by Julian in his Duties of a Prieſt, Vol. I. p. 132.

† Probably Callimachus, born, as Strabo ſays (*l.* xvii.) at Cyrene in Africa, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thence he is often ſtyled "the Libyan bard." His hymns were tranſlated by Dr. Dodd.

‡ Thus they made the entrance to the temple of Virtue the paſſage to that of Honour.

§ Little did Alypius imagine, while he was exerciſing his poetical and political talents in Britain, among a people

as

Epiſtle XXXI. To Biſhop Ætius *.

A. D. 361. ALL the reſt who were baniſhed by the late Conſtantius, on account of the madneſs of the Galileans, I have recalled. As to you, I not only remit your baniſhment, but, mindful of our old acquaintance, I alſo invite you hither. Uſe a public vehicle as far as my camp, and one ſupernumerary horſe †.

as inſenſible to the charms of his poetry as their rocks and foreſts, that, in a diſtant age, when the Britons could have reliſhed his verſes, he would not have been known as a poet, and ſcarcely as a governor, eminent as he was in both thoſe characters, had not this accidental billet been happily reſcued from the gulph of time.

* A celebrated Arian prelate, who had been ſent by Gallus to his brother Julian, while he was reader in the church of Nicomedia, to ſtrengthen him in the Chriſtian religion. See the Epiſtle from Gallus to Julian, Vol. I. p. 1.

The death of Gallus had been followed by the exile of Ætius, his divine and confident. He was made reſponſible for ſome of the faults of that unfortunate prince, and the demi-Arians accuſed him to Conſtantius as a very dangerous hereſiarch. The rank of biſhop, which is given him in the title of the above Epiſtle, muſt have been added by the tranſcribers. Ætius was not a biſhop when Julian wrote to him. But he was ſoon after ordained by the biſhops of his party, who then came to an open rupture with the demi-Arians. The credit which Ætius had with the Emperor, who preſented him with an eſtate in the iſland of Leſbos, no doubt inſpired the Anomeans, or pure Arians, with the boldneſs to complete their ſchiſm. It does not appear that Ætius, though a biſhop, was ever fixed to any ſee. LA BLETERIE.

† See note † on Epiſtle XX. p. 42.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXXII. To the Sophiſt Lucian.

I WRITE, that I may be entitled to an anſwer. If I offend you by the frequency of my letters, give me, I intreat you, the ſame offence *.

Epiſtle XXXIII. To Dositheus †.

I COULD ſcarce refrain from tears, and with reaſon, when I heard your name mentioned, recollecting your ‡ beloved, noble, and in every reſpect excellent father; whom if you imitate, you will be happy, and, like him, render your life honourable; but if you are indolent, you will grieve me, and diſgrace yourſelf, for being uſeleſs to the world.

* The length of this letter could not offend. Many ſcraps, equally inſignificant, from Pope, were treaſured up by his friend Richardſon. But, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*

† Doſitheus is mentioned by Libanius, in his cxxxiſt Epiſtle, and a ſhort Epiſtle to him from that ſophiſt is preſerved (in Latin) by Zambicari.

‡ In the printed editions it is ημων, a miſtake ſurely for υμων. Julian could ſcarce remember his own father.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXXIV. To the Philoſopher Jamblichus*.

IT was ſufficient for Ulyſſes to ſay to his ſon, in order to check his high opinion of him,

No God am I; for heaven reſerve that name †.

But I cannot think myſelf a man, as the ſaying is, while I am abſent from Jamblichus. I will allow myſelf, however, to be your admirer, like that father of Telemachus, and though ſome perhaps may think it unbecoming, that ſhall not prevent my loving you. For I know that many who have

* This Jamblichus muſt not be confounded with another of the ſame name, who was more ancient (ſee p. 70. note †.) This was the diſciple of Edeſius. Julian has addreſſed ſix Epiſtles to him, [XXXIV, XL, XLI, LIII, LX, LXI.] which I have not tranſlated. To theſe Epiſtles in particular may be applied what M. Fleury ſays, in general, of thoſe which are addreſſed to the ſophiſts, *Elles ſont pleines des louanges outrées, et d'un empreſſement qui marque plus de legereté que d'affection.* La Bletreie.

Mr. Dodwell (*Exerc. de Pythag. ætate*) ſuſpects the authenticity of theſe Epiſtles, "becauſe they treat on very "trifling ſubjects, more worthy of a ſophiſt than a prince, "and ſhew a greater attention to ſtyle than becomes even "a philoſopher." As to his argument drawn from a miſtake in chronology, in regard to Sopater, that may eaſily be obviated by ſuppoſing there were alſo two of that name, as Julian ſeems to intimate See note †. on Ep. XXVII. p. 70. Libanius has addreſſed ſeven Epiſtles to this younger Jamblichus, of which one is preſerved by Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca, vol. IV. p. 384.

† Odyſſ. XVI. 187. Broome, 222.

admired

admired fine ſtatues, far from detracting from the praiſe of the artiſt, have by their paſſion for them added freſh honour to the work. As to your humorouſly ranking me among the ancient ſages, that I am far diſtant from them is as certain as that you are one of them. But you unite not only Pindar, and Democritus, and the moſt ancient Orpheus, but almoſt all the Greeks, who are ſaid to have gained the ſummit of philoſophy, as the various notes of vocal and inſtrumental muſic combine in a perfect concert. And as Argus, who guarded Io, is deſcribed by the poets as ſurrounded with eyes, ſo you, the genuine guardian of virtue, are enlightened by eloquence with the pure eyes of learning. It is ſaid, that Proteus, the Ægyptian, aſſumed various forms, fearing leſt he ſhould inadvertently appear wiſe to thoſe who queſtioned him *. But as Proteus was really wiſe, and, as Homer ſays, had much knowledge, I praiſe him for his knowledge; but I do not admire his virtue, as he acted not like a benevolent being, but an impoſtor, in concealing himſelf to avoid being uſeful to mankind. But who, my noble friend, does not admire you, not only for equalling Proteus in wiſdom, but alſo for never invidiouſly withholding from any one that virtue and perfect knowledge, which you poſſeſs, of all things excellent? Thus, like the ſplendid ſun, the radiance of your wiſdom enlightens all, both by

* See Virg. Georg. IV. and Ovid. Metam. XI.

inſtructing the preſent, and by your writings, as far as poſſible, improving the abſent. In this you excell even the illuſtrious Orpheus, ſince he waſted his muſic in the ſolace of brutes, but you, as if born for the good of mankind, imitate the hand of Æſculapius, and every where diffuſe your eloquent and ſalutary precepts. So that Homer, I think, if he were to return to life, might with much more reaſon apply that line to you,

— One ſtill living traverſes the world *.

For to thoſe who are of ancient ſtamp, to us in particular, a certain ſacred ſpark, as it were, of true and fertile learning is by you alone rekindled and revived. And, O Jupiter the Preſerver, and eloquent Mercury, grant, in return, that, for the general good of mankind, the life of the excellent Jamblichus may be prolonged to the utmoſt extent! If for Homer, Plato †, and all that are worthy of their ſociety, juſt vows were of old ſuc-

*. Homer. Odyſſ. IV. 198. Proteus ſpeaking of Ulyſſes to Menelaus,

Εις δ' ετι πȣ ζωος κατερυκεται ευρω ποντεϊ,

Otherwiſe, ευρεϊ κοσμω.

Not ſo well. For the word κοσμος does not occur in Homer in that ſenſe. CLARKE.

This various reading may perhaps reſt on no better foundation than the above paſſage of Julian, in which his inſertion of κοσμω may be accidental, by his quoting (as uſual) from memory, or intentional, as better ſuiting his purpoſe.

† The Latin tranſlator has added "Socrates," but without any authority from the original; and indeed Julian would hardly have mentioned him on this occaſion, as his life, though in an advanced age, was ſhortened by violence, and the prayers of the virtuous were therefore in that reſpect unſucceſsful.

ceſsfully offered, and their lives were thus prolonged, why ſhould not a contemporary of ours, their equal both in virtue and eloquence, be tranſmitted by ſimilar vows to the extremeſt old age, and endowed with every bleſſing?

Epiſtle XXXV. For the ARGIVES *.

IN favour of the city of the Argives much may be ſaid by any one who would celebrate their actions ancient and modern. Of the glory acquired at Troy they are juſtly entitled to the greateſt ſhare †, as are the Lacedæmonians and Athe-

* The Argives being oppreſſed by the Corinthians, and ſubjected to new exactions, contrary to law, Julian recommends them, as I imagine, to the Pro-conſul, ſaying it was unjuſt that a city, ſo flouriſhing of old, and, on account of the expence of the ſacred games, exempted from taxes, ſhould pay a tribute to Corinth towards the amphitheatral ſports. Corinth was made a Roman colony by Auguſtus, who, at the deſire of Julius Cæſar, raiſed that city from ruins. Under this title ſhe claimed authority over ſeveral cities that were not colonies. That this was not an edict of the Emperor, but a petition of Julian, then a private man, appears by an obſervation made in a ſubſequent note. PETAU.

This Epiſtle, which illuſtrates the declining ſtate of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bleterie.

The eloquence of Julian was interpoſed, moſt probably with ſucceſs, in behalf of a city which had been the royal ſeat of Agamemnon, and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors. GIBBON.

† It ſeems ſtrange that he ſhould aſcribe the greateſt ſhare in the Trojan war to the Argives, in the ſame manner as he does afterwards to the Lacedemonians and Athenians.

Athenians afterwards. For though both thoſe wars were waged by all Greece, of praiſe, as well as of cares and labours, the generals may claim a large proportion. But theſe are of ancient date. After the return of the Heraclidæ, the birth-right taken from the eldeſt *, the colony ſent from thence into Macedonia, and the conſtant preſervation of the city, free and independent, from the neighbouring Lacedæmonians, were proofs of no moderate or

For they attempted nothing afterwards againſt the Trojans; but by the appellation of "Trojan" he means ſome other expeditions which were undertaken by the Greeks againſt the Perſians, as if Τρωικὰ were the ſame as Βαρβαρικά. PETAU.

Agamemnon, the "king of men," was king of Argos (in Achaia), as well as of Mycenæ, but is not ſo ſtyled by Homer in his catalogue of the ſhips, the troops of Argos being there ſubdivided from thoſe of Mycenæ, and led by Diomed, acting as their general under Agamemnon. "Di-" omed" (as Mr. Wodhull obſerves, in his notes on the Oreſtes of Euripides), "though he derived his title of "king from Ætolia, never poſſeſſed that throne, but re-" ſided chiefly at Argos (about ſix miles only from My-" cenæ), till he ſettled in Italy. Euripides, it has been "obſerved, perpetually confounds thoſe two cities."

* Temenus. The origin of the Macedonian kingdom was derived from the Argives by Caranus (their firſt king), brother to Phidon, king of the Argives. On which account, he ſays, the anceſtors of Philip and Alexander ſprung from Argos. PETAU.

This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be ſuſpicious, yet it was allowed, after a ſtrict enquiry, by the judges of the Olympic games (Herod. *l.* v. *c* 22.) at a time when the Macedonian kings were obſcure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achaian league was declared againſt Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos ſhould retire. GIBBON.

common

common fortitude. Actions similar to those of the Macedonians against the Persians may also be ascribed to this city; as this was the country of the latter ancestors of Philip and Alexander. In later times it obeyed the Romans, not as a vassal, but rather as an ally; and, I think, partook with the rest of the freedom and other privileges which the Emperors have always indulged to the cities of Greece. But now the Corinthians *, prone to oppression, compell that city, which is annexed to theirs (for thus it should properly be expressed) by the reigning city †, to be tributary to them; and this innovation, it is said, they have now

* Argos, he says, was made tributary to Corinth by the authority of the reigning city, because when the Achaians were subdued by Mummius, and Corinth destroyed, all Greece, being assessed under the name of Achaia, received a magistrate from the Romans, who, under the Emperors, was styled a Pro-consul, and resided at Corinth, which was therefore the metropolis of Achaia, nay of Peloponnesus, and consequently of all Greece. See Pausanias, *in Achaicis*, *p.* 222. and Pliny, *Ep. ult. l.* VIII. Seven years before Julian wrote this Epistle, the Corinthians had begun to exact a tribute from the Argives towards their wild beasts and hunting-matches. PETAU.

† Rome. Julian gives her the same appellation in his 1st Oration, p. 5. Eunapius, who flourished after the death of Julian, styles her ἡ βασιλευουσα Ρωμη, in his Prohæresius. Themistius, though he was ambassador from Constantinople to Constantius at Rome, in his IId Oration, p. 41. styles the one "the queen of cities," and the other "the "second." For the same reason, Rome is represented on ancient coins, and those struck even under Constantine or his sons, as a woman sitting, and holding a globe in her right hand. SPANHEIM.

practiſed for ſeven years, not conſidering that Delphi and Elis are by agreement exempted from tribute on account of their celebrating the ſacred games. For ſince there are, as is well known, four great and moſt illuſtrious games in Greece, the Eleans furniſh and direct the Olympic, the Delphians the Pythian, the Corinthians the Iſthmian, and the Argives the Nemean. Why then ſhould thoſe retain the exemptions formerly granted, and theſe, who, on account of the like expences, were formerly exempted, or perhaps not taxed originally, now be deprived of a privilege with which they were once honoured? Beſides, Elis and Delphi *, for thoſe highly celebrated games every fifth year, are uſed to contribute only once; but at Argos there are two Nemean, as there are two Iſthmian at Corinth. And at this time alſo two other games

* The Olympic and Pythian games were celebrated once in five years; the Nemean and Iſthmian twice. For the Nemean were kept at the beginning of the firſt, and, in like manner, at the cloſe of the third year; the one being in winter, and the other in ſummer. Beſides the two Nemean, the Herean alſo were defrayed by the Argives. Four ſolemnities therefore, in the whole, were exhibited by them, on which account they ought juſtly to have been exempted from tribute. PETAU.

The firſt inſtitutor of the Olympic games is unknown, though it is generally ſuppoſed to have been Pelops. They were conſecrated to Jupiter, and were performed in the neighbourhood of Olympia, in the diſtrict of Piſa. The Pythian were celebrated at Delphi in honour of Apollo; the Nemean at Nemea, in Peloponneſus, in honour of Hercules; and the Iſthmian in the Iſthmus of Corinth, in honour of Neptune.

are

are added to thoſe at Argos, ſo that there are four games in four years. Is it proper then that thoſe who exhibit them only once ſhould be exempted, and that theſe who exhibit them four times at home ſhould be obliged to contribute to others, eſpecially as they are not ancient nor accuſtomed in Greece? For the Corinthians do not require theſe large ſums for the ſupport of gymnaſtic or muſical performances; but for hunting-matches, which they often exhibit in the theatres, purchaſing, for that purpoſe, bears and panthers; an expence which they eaſily defray by means of their wealth and large revenues; and as many others contribute alſo towards it, they reap the advantage of their own inſtitution. But do not the Argives, who are extremely indigent, by thus being made to contribute to a foreign entertainment in another country, ſuffer unjuſtly and illegally, and in a manner unſuitable to the ancient power and glory of their city? And as they are neighbours, they ought on that account to be more eſteemed, if that ſaying be true,

"——— Bad muſt be your neighbours,
"If an ox periſh *."

But

* Οωδ' αν βοϛ απολοιτο, ει μη δια κακιαν γειτονων.
Taken from one of the moral maxims of Heſiod,
Οωδ' αν βως απολοιτ', ει μη γειτων κακος ειη.
Works and Days, ver. 346.
A correſponding Latin proverb occurs in Plautus:
— *Verum illud verbum eſſe experior vetus,*
Aliquid mali eſſe propter vicinum malum.
Mercator, Act. IV. Sc. 4. 31.

But the Argives do not bring this charge againſt the Corinthians through their ſolicitude for one ox only, but for many and great expences with which they are unjuſtly burthened. The Corinthians might alſo be aſked, whether they would chooſe to adhere to the ancient laws of Greece, or adopt thoſe which they have ſince received from the reigning city? For if they approve the majeſty of the ancient laws, the Argives are no more bound to pay tribute to the Corinthians, than the Corinthians are to pay it to the Argives. But if the Corinthians adopt the modern laws, and, becauſe they are made a Roman colony, contend that they

Juvenal, in his xvith Satire, ver. 36. expreſſes his apprehenſion of ſimilar dangers from bad neighbours:

——— *Convallem ruris aviti*
Improbus, aut campum mihi ſi vicinus ademit,
Et ſacrum effodit medio de limite ſaxum.

If any rogue vexatious ſuits advance
Againſt me for my known inheritance,
Enter by violence my fruitful grounds,
Or take my ſacred land-mark from my bounds.
DRYDEN.

Many other parallel paſſages might be adduced both from the Latin and Greek writers.

I am indebted for this note to a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1783, p. 215.

Similar humanity to animals and good neighbourhood are inculcated in the Levitical law. *Thou ſhalt not ſee thy brother's ox or his ſheep go aſtray, and hide thyſelf from them: thou ſhalt in any caſe bring them again unto thy brother. Thou ſhalt not ſee thy brother's aſs or his ox fall down by the way, and hide thyſelf from them: thou ſhalt ſurely help him to lift them up again.* Deut. xxii. 1, 4. &c.

have

have the dominion over Argos, we will humbly intreat them not to be more aſſuming than their fathers, nor to new model, or ſubvert, to the detriment of their neighbours, thoſe cuſtoms which their anceſtors with ſound judgement obſerved, relying on the decree which they lately obtained, and meanly taking advantage of the ignorance of the advocate who pleaded for the Argives *. For if this cauſe had been removed out of Greece, the Corinthians would have had much leſs influence, and its merits, diſcuſſed by many ſkilful advocates, would have been more apparent; on which account it is probable, that the judge, abaſhed by the eſtabliſhed dignity of Argos, would have made a juſt decree. Concerning the rights of the city, if you will only hear the orators, and they may be allowed to ſpeak, you ſhall be acquainted with the cauſe from the beginning, and, from their arguments may form a judgement of the whole. On what is ſaid, that we ought not to credit thoſe who are ſent hither as petitioners †, it may now be proper to add a few words.

* In the reign of Conſtantius this diſpute between the Corinthians and Argives had been litigated, and the latter loſt their cauſe through the inexperience of their advocate in law-affairs. PETAU.

† It appears from this paſſage that Julian, then a private man, had been requeſted by the Argives to uſe his intereſt with the pro-conſul of Achaia in their behalf: otherwiſe he would have commanded with authority, inſtead of preſenting a petition; as he himſelf would have put an end to the diſpute. *Ibid.*

If

If there are any philoſophers in theſe times, Diogenes and Lamprias are ſuch. They decline the legiſlative and lucrative offices of the ſtate; but if their country wants their aſſiſtance, they ſerve her to the utmoſt of their abilities; when the city is in any emergency, they plead cauſes, aſſiſt in the government, engage in embaſſies, and liberally expend their money, thus confuting by their conduct the ſcandalous aſperſions on philoſophy, and diſproving that vulgar notion, that thoſe who ſtudy philoſophy, are uſeleſs to their country. For their country employs them in thoſe functions, and they endeavour to defend the cauſe of juſtice by our aſſiſtance; but we employ yours.

All that remains for the defence and ſafety of the oppreſſed is the appointment of a judge both willing and able to make a juſt decree. If either of theſe be wanting, if he be either miſtaken or unfaithful, juſtice muſt abſolutely periſh. But though we ſhould have a judge agreeable to our wiſhes, we have not the liberty of ſpeaking *, as we have not appealed; this, they requeſt, may firſt be allowed them, and that the indolence of him who then pleaded for the city, and managed her cauſe, may not entail ſuch a burthen on poſterity. Nor can there be any impropriety in granting a new trial. It is ſometimes expedient to forego

* The advocate of the Argives, when he loſt the former cauſe, neleƈted to appeal; therefore the city could not bring a new aƈtion, nor demand another trial. PETAU.

ſome

ſome preſent advantages and opportunities, for the ſake of future ſecurity. And as life is ſhort, they wiſh to paſs that ſhort ſpace with tranquillity. But that the cauſe ſhould ſink before the judgement-ſeat, and be tranſmitted to poſterity undetermined, is dreadful; ſo that, the hazard being ſo great, it ſeems better to accept half the advantage, than, by contending, to loſe the whole. But thoſe immortal cities, unleſs a juſt decree be made, and their mutual animoſities terminated, muſt neceſſarily be at perpetual variance. For enmity gains ſtrength by time.

I have ſaid *, as the orators expreſs themſelves. May juſtice direct your determination!

* Ειρηκα οϒ' εμος λογος, analogous to *Dixi*, in Latin.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXXVI. To Porphyry *.

A. D. 362. THE library of George was large and copious †. It was ſtocked with books of philoſophy of all kinds, and with many of hiſtory; on other ſubjects not a few; and with various writings of the Galileans. Examine therefore carefully the whole, and ſend it to Antioch. Be aſſured, that, unleſs you make a diligent ſcrutiny, you ſhall be ſeverely fined; and as to thoſe who are in the leaſt ſuſpected of having ſecreted any of theſe books, if you cannot induce them, by all kinds of arguments, and adjurations, and in particular by putting their ſlaves to the torture, let them be compelled by force to reſtore them all ‡.

* Treaſurer-general of Ægypt. Libanius mentions him in one of his Epiſtles as an excellent friend; and ſays, that he was calumniated and oppreſſed by two Ægyptians, a race "more ſavage than all the wild beaſts of Libya."

† See Epiſtles IX. and X.

‡ This is by no means an inſtance of cruelty in Julian. A conſiderable robbery had been committed, and of property much more valuable than it is at preſent. The Romans, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, put their ſlaves to the torture. La Bleterie.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XXXVII. To Amerius *.

YOUR letter, in which you mention the death of your wife, and expreſs your extreme affliction, filled my eyes with tears. Painful would it have been to hear that any wife, young, chaſte, and engaging, and alſo an excellent mother, was prematurely ſnatched away; but that you have ſuſtained ſuch a loſs gives me peculiar concern. For, of all my friends, Amerius leaſt deſerved ſuch a calamity; a man whoſe underſtanding is ſuperior to moſt, a man whom I highly eſteem.

If I were writing on this ſubject to any other perſon, I ſhould be more prolix in telling him that ſuch is the lot of human nature, that ſubmiſſion

* I know not that this man of letters, apparently a ſophiſt and a Pagan, is elſewhere mentioned. One MS. ſtyles him "Himerius." We are acquainted with a celebrated profeſſor of that name, the rival and the collegue of Prohæreſius, and who, like him, taught eloquence at Athens when Julian was there. Himerius left ſome diſcourſes, of which there are ſome extracts in the Bibliotheca of Photius. It might be ſuppoſed that this Epiſtle was addreſſed to him, if the MS did not ſtyle him "Præfect of Ægypt."

In the reign of Julian that province was governed by Ecdicius; and this Epiſtle is certainly written to one who was a teacher: but it might not be impoſſible for the title of Præfect to be here no more than an honorary title. In thoſe times honorary titles of the greateſt employments were ſometimes given to men of letters. I would not venture, however, to aſſert, they had that of governor of any particular province. La Bleterie.

is

is neceſſary, that the moſt poignant grief admits of conſolation *, and, in ſhort, ſhould uſe, as to a novice, all the arguments that are likely to alleviate affliction. But as I am aſhamed of employing to one who inſtructs others thoſe arguments which are uſed to teach and improve the ignorant, waving every thing elſe, I will relate to you a fable, or rather a true ſtory, of a certain wiſe man, not new perhaps to you, but probably unknown to many, whoſe only medicine, mirth, you will find as effectual a remedy for ſorrow as that cup † which the fair Lacedæmonian is ſuppoſed, on a ſimilar occaſion, to have given to Telemachus.

It is reported, that Democritus ‡ of Abdera, finding nothing that he ſaid could conſole Darius for

* Thus the three remedies which Pliny preſcribes are, "Length of time, the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, and ſatiety "of grief."

† In the IVth book of the Odyſſey, ver. 220, &c. when Menelaus gives an entertainment to Telemachus, Helen puts into the wine a drug which had the virtue to induce an oblivion of the moſt cruel anxieties. La Bleterie.

Julian refers to the ſame paſſage in his Conſolatory Oration, Vol. I. p. 32, where it is quoted in the notes.

‡ Demonax comforted Herod the philoſopher under affliction by a ſimilar fable, as Lucian relates in his life. Petau.

This ſtory is no where found. Though Democritus had travelled into Perſia, and was acquainted with the ſecrets of magiſm, his diſcourſe with Darius has all the appearance of being only a philoſophical novel. At the time of the death of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, Democritus was, at moſt, 28 years old; perhaps he was no more than

23,

for the loſs of a beautiful wife, promiſed to reſtore her to life, if the king would ſupply him with all things neceſſary for the purpoſe. Darius ordered him to ſpare no expence, but to take whatever was requiſite to perform his promiſe. Soon after, Democritus told him, that "every thing was "ready for the completion of the work, one only "excepted, which he knew not how to procure; "but that Darius, as he was king of all Aſia, "would perhaps find no difficulty in providing "it." On his aſking what this important matter was, Democritus is ſaid to have replied, "If you "will inſcribe on the tomb of your wife the names "of three who have never known affliction, ſhe "ſhall immediately return to life, this ceremony "being irreſiſtible *." Darius heſitating, and not being able to recollect any one who had not experienced ſome ſorrow, Democritus laughed, as uſual, and ſaid to him, "And are not you, the ab-"ſurdeſt of men, aſhamed ſtill to lament, as if

23, or even nine. This philoſopher was on his return to Greece, when Darius II. ſurnamed Nothus, aſcended the throne, in the year before Chriſt, 423. La Bleterie. See Vol. I. p. 21. note †.

* It is in the Greek Ευθυς αυτην αναβιωσεσθαι τω της τελευτης νομω δυσωπεμενην, which Martinius has tranſlated thus: *Illam ab inferis eſſe redituram; fore enim ut ejus mortis conſuetudine erubeſceret.* I think that it may be reſtored by leaving out a ſingle letter. Inſtead of της τελευτης, we ſhould read της τελειης, and tranſlate it, *fore ut ſtatim reviviſceret, ejus ceremoniæ ritu exorata.* The word δυσωπεισθαι ſignifies not only "to bluſh, to be aſhamed," but alſo, "to ſuffer oneſelf "to be perſuaded, to be moved." *Ibid.*

"you

" you alone were involved in ſuch diſtreſs, when " you cannot find one that ever lived exempt from " ſome domeſtic misfortune?"

That Darius, an illiterate Barbarian, a ſlave both to joy and grief, ſhould be told this, was highly proper; but you, a Greek, who cultivate true literature, ſhould learn from yourſelf to govern your paſſions. For it is ſhameful that reaſon ſhould not anticipate the certain effects of time *.

Epiſtle XXXVIII. To the Philoſopher Maximus †.

A. D. 360. MY ideas crowd ſo faſt upon me, that they choak my utterance, ſome hindering the paſſage of others. Whether this be frigidity, or any thing elſe, you will determine. But let me now arrange them in order, and firſt return my

* If Julian had read the Latin authors (and why ſhould he not have read, at leaſt, ſome of them?) I ſhould ſay that he has copied this paſſage of the letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero: *Nullus dolor eſt quem non longinquitas temporis minuat atque molliat. Hoc te expectare tempus turpe eſt, ac non ei rei tuâ ſapientiâ te occurrere.* La Bleterie.

† This Epiſtle was written in Illyricum at the time when Julian was preparing to march againſt Conſtantius. *Ibid.*

Among the philoſophers, Maximus obtained an eminent rank in the friendſhip of his royal diſciple, who communicated, with unreſerved confidence, his actions, his ſentiments, and his religious deſigns, during the anxious ſuſpence of the civil war. Gibbon.

See the firſt note on Epiſtle XV. p. 29.

thanks to the Gods, whoſe goodneſs ſtill allows me to write *, and perhaps will permit us to meet.

When I was firſt made Emperor (the Gods know, and I, as far as poſſible, declared to them, with what reluctance), I was waging war againſt the Barbarians. After paſſing three months in that ſervice, as I was returning to Gaul, I looked round, and enquired of thoſe who came from thence whether any philoſopher, any ſcholar, or any one clad in a woollen coat or cloak, had arrived there. At length I approached Veſontio †. This ſmall town, now rebuilt, was formerly a large city, adorned with magnificent temples, and fortified both by ſtrong walls and its natural ſituation, being ſurrounded by the river Dubis ‡, and elevated, as if in the ſea, on a high rock, almoſt inacceſſible even to the birds, except where an iſthmus joins it to the continent. Near this town I met a Cynic philoſopher, with his cloak and ſtaff.

* It is probable that Julian, after his taking the title of Auguſtus, wrote ſeldom to Maximus, for fear of embroiling that philoſopher, who dwelt in Ionia, or Greece, and conſequently under the dominion of Conſtantius.

La Bleterie.

† Now Beſançon, the capital of Franche-Comtè. Julian paſſed through this town, which had ſuffered ſeverely from the fury of the Barbarians, after his fourth expedition beyond the Rhine, A. D. 360, in his way to Vienne, where he fixed his head-quarters for the enſuing winter. See Ammianus, xx. 10. Of the citadel of Veſontio, on a high mountain, ſee Cæſar, de bell. Gall. *l.* 1. F. Martinius tranſlates it "*Danubius.*"

‡ Now the Doux.

At a distance I thought it was you *, and on his nearer approach I imagined that he came from you. He proved to be also a friend of mine, but not such as I hoped and expected. He was useful to me therefore in one instance only, that of giving me reason to conclude that your anxiety on my account had prevented your leaving Greece. Witness Jupiter, witness great Sun, witness Minerva, and all ye Gods and Goddesses, how much, in my return from Illyricum to Gaul, I trembled for you! And I enquired of the Gods, not that I dared myself (for I was not able † to see or hear any thing of the situation in which you then might be), but I entrusted that office to others. The Gods clearly shewed, that some troubles would befall you, but that nothing terrible should ensue, nor any wicked device prevail.

I omit, you observe, many important events. You are chiefly interested to know how soon we experienced the manifest assistance of the Gods, and

* This clearly shews that Maximus was of the sect of the Cynics. A Cynic was as vain of his staff and cloak as if he had been decked with all the ornaments of dress. But this Maximus must be distinguished from another Cynic of the same name, under the Emperor Theodosius, who was of Alexandria. BARONIUS.

† He means the danger to which Maximus was exposed under Constantius, and affirms, that he did not venture himself to consult the Gods concerning him, lest he should be compelled to hear some inauspicious tidings, as was highly probable. PETAU.

After this, can there be a doubt of Julian's belief in theurgy? LA BLETERIE.

escaped

eſcaped ſuch a multitude of traitors, killing none and ſpoiling none, but only impriſoning thoſe who were apprehended in the very fact *.

Theſe things perhaps it might have been better to ſpeak than to write. I am certain, however, that they will give you pleaſure. We worſhip the Gods publickly, and all the troops that are returning with me profeſs the true religion. We openly ſacrifice oxen. We have made our grateful acknowledgments to the Gods in ſeveral hecatombs †. They command me to reſtore their worſhip with the utmoſt purity ‡. Moſt willingly I obey them. They promiſe me great rewards, if I am not remiſs. Euägrius § is arrived.

* Soon after Julian was proclaimed Auguſtus, an eunuch, ſuborned by the partiſans of Conſtantius, attempted to aſſaſſinate him. Julian pardoned him. We learn from hence, that this was not the only conſpiracy which threatened his life. *Ibid.*

† The legions of Gaul devoted themſelves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and, even before the death of Conſtantius, he had the ſatisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they aſſiſted, with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the ſacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen. "So that the ſoldiers," ſays Ammianus (xxii. 12.) "living groſsly on fat meat, and "greedy of drink, were carried through the ſtreets on the "ſhoulders of paſſers-by, from the public-houſes . . . . "to their quarters." The devout prince and the indignant hiſtorian deſcribe the ſame ſcene; and in Illyricum, or Antioch, ſimilar cauſes muſt have produced ſimilar effects. GIBBON.

‡ He had no doubt of his being raiſed up by the Gods to be the reſtorer of Paganiſm. LA BLETERIE.

§ See the firſt note on Epiſtle XLVI.

Epiſtle XXXIX. To the ſame.

A. D. 362. WELCOME the coming, ſpeed the parting gueſt *.

Such is the law of the wiſe Homer. But our friendſhip is ſuperior to that of hoſpitality, being founded on learning and religion. So that no one could juſtly charge me with tranſgreſſing this law of Homer, if I ſhould think proper to detain you longer with me. But as, I ſee, your diminutive frame † requires more attention, I allow you to go into your own country ‡, and have provided for the convenience of your journey, by giving you the uſe of a public carriage. May Æſculapius, and all the Gods, conduct you, and bring you ſafely back to us again!

* This is ſaid by Menelaus (Odyſſ. xv. 74.) when Telemachus, after viſiting him at Lacedæmon, was going to take his leave. LA BLETERIE.

Pope, 84. He has adopted this line in his imitation of the 2d ſatire of the 1ſt book of Horace. Thus alſo Theocritus, Idyll. XVI. 27. as tranſlated by Fawkes.

With prudent hoſpitality they ſpend,
And kindly greeting ſpeed the parting friend.

† Σωμάλιον, *corpuſculum*. As from ἀνθρωπίσκος, *homuncio*, applied to Athanaſius in Epiſtle LI. it has been inferred, that the primate of Ægypt was a little man, the ſame concluſion perhaps may be drawn from the above expreſſion in regard to Maximus; though, in this inſtance, the diminutive is a term of affection, and, in the other, of contempt.

‡ Epheſus. Maximus probably took this journey while the Emperor was at Conſtantinople. LA BLETERIE.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XL. To Jamblichus *.

I AM ſo ſenſible of the good-nature with which you blame me, that I think myſelf equally honoured by your letters, and inſtructed by your reproofs. But were I conſcious of the leaſt failure of attention to you, I would certainly endeavour, if poſſible, to palliate the fault, or I would not ſcruple to aſk your pardon, eſpecially as I know that, whenever your friends indiſcreetly violate the laws of friendſhip, you are not implacable. Now then (ſince negligence, or indolence, generally prevents my accompliſhing what I ardently deſire), aſcend, as it were, a tribunal, while I plead my cauſe before you, and ſhew that I did not treat you with impropriety, or act with tardineſs or neglect. A. D. 363.

Three years ago I left Pannonia †, with difficulty eſcaping thoſe ſnares and dangers of which you are well appriſed. But when I had croſſed the Chalcedonian ſtrait ‡, and approached the city of Nicomedia §, to you firſt, as to the God of my country, I paid due offerings for my ſafety, by ſending you a meſſage as a token of my approach,

* See the firſt note on Epiſtle XXXIV.

† Now Hungary.

‡ Now the Boſphorus.

§ This city was then in ruins by an earthquake, which happened in 358. See a note on an epiſtle of Libanius, vol. I. p. 304. and his Monody on that event, in this vol.

or a kind of ſacred preſent. The letter was conſigned to the care of one of the Imperial guards, by name Julian, the ſon of Bacchylus, a native of Apamea *, to whom I the more readily entruſted it, as he was going thither, and declared that he knew you perfectly well. After this, I received, as from Apollo, a ſacred epiſtle from you, expreſſing that you had heard with pleaſure of my arrival. Wiſe Jamblichus, and a letter from Jamblichus, were to me a happy omen, and the dawning of good hopes. Need I ſay how much I rejoiced, and how greatly I was affected by your letter? For if you have received what I wrote on that ſubject (which was ſent to you by one of the letter-carriers that came from thence), you certainly know the great ſatisfaction that it gave me. And again, when the man who nurſed my children † returned home, I ſent you another letter, in

* The metropolis of Phrygia.

† Τῳ τροφεως των ἐμαυτῳ παιδων. M. de Tillemont, who takes in its moſt rigorous ſenſe that ſuſpicious paſſage in the Miſopogon (p. 244.) in which Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that "he *almoſt always* (ὡς επιπαν) lay alone," and conſiders it as a confeſſion that Julian himſelf makes of his incontinence, obſerves, in order to ſtrengthen this pretended confeſſion, that Julian, in this Epiſtle (which is one of thoſe that I have not tranſlated), ſpeaks of "the man who had nurſed his children." "Now," ſays M. de Tillemont, "he never had any le-"gitimate, except a ſon who periſhed by the wickedneſs "of the midwife, whom the Empreſs Euſebia, the wife of "Conſtantius, had ſuborned. The fact is certain: there-"fore he had ſome illegitimate."

But

in which I expreſſed my acknowledgments for your former, and alſo requeſted a repetition of the favour. Afterwards the diſtinguiſhed Sopater * came to us on an embaſſy, and, as I knew him, I inſtantly ſprung forward to embrace him, and ſhed

But we muſt not conclude from this paſſage, as M. de Tillemont does, that there was actually a man who was charged with the care of the children of Julian. Helena had a ſon. After her firſt lying-in, ſhe never went her full time. But at every pregnancy a nurſe was provided. The ſame perhaps was frequently choſen. It was probably the huſband of that nurſe whom Julian ſtyles "the nurſe "of his children." I ſay probably, becauſe a number of other plauſible reaſons may be ſuppoſed for Julian's having given ſome one that name. Who knows, for inſtance, but that it was a man whom he had deſtined for the care of the children that he hoped to have? Whether he did not cauſe ſome children that did not belong to him to be educated with the tenderneſs of a father? Or whether it was not a joke which Jamblichus perfectly underſtood?

LA BLETERIE.

When Julian ſpeaks of "the tutor of his children," who is not named, the expreſſion muſt be underſtood figuratively. For Julian had no children, legitimate or illegitimate. Hiſtorians are quite ſilent about them, excepting that one which he had by his wife Helena, who was not ſuffered to live. If Julian had any children out of lawful marriage, and therefore illegitimate, can it be ſuppoſed that Chriſtian writers would have been ſilent about it? By no means. Eumenius, in his Panegyric, recommends to Conſtantine not only his five children of whom he was the parent, but his other children likewiſe, as he calls them, whom he had educated for the bar or the court. In ſome ſuch figurative ſenſe Julian muſt be underſtood. He intends ſome young perſons under his ſpecial care. LARDNER.

* See Epiſtle XXVII. p. 70. note †. That this was the ſame Sopater who entertained Julian afterwards at Hierapolis, though probable, I cannot affirm.

tears of joy, dreaming of nothing but you and a letter from you. As ſoon as I received it, I kiſſed it, held it to my eyes, and ſtrained it cloſe, as if I had feared, that, while I was reading it, the features of your face ſhould ſecretly eſcape me. I immediately wrote an anſwer, not only to you, but to the excellent Sopater, his ſon, telling him, in joke, that I had accepted a common friend from Apamea as an hoſtage for your abſence.

From that time to the date of my preſent writing, I have received no letter from you but that in which you ſeem to chide me. If by this appearance of a charge you mean only to urge me to write, I accept the whole charge with the utmoſt joy, and the very letter which I have now received I deem the higheſt favour. But if you really accuſe me of having given you the leaſt offence, who can be more miſerable than I in having been prevented by the negligence of letter-carriers from giving you the ſatisfaction that I wiſh? However, though I were not to write very frequently, I might juſtly claim your indulgence, not on account of the buſineſs in which I am engaged (for I am not ſuch a wretch as not to prefer you, as Pindar ſays, to all my affairs *); but, becauſe there is more

* Ασχολιας απασης το καλα σε κρειτ[τ]ον ηγεισθαι. The ſenſe, but not the words, of Pindar.

—— τον σον, χρυσασπι Θηβα,
Πραγμα και ασχολιας υπερτερον
Θασομαι —— Iſthm. I. 1.

Your buſineſs, golden-ſhielded Thebes,
To all my own I willingly prefer.

wiſdom

wiſdom in being loth to write to ſuch a man as you, who cannot be recollected without veneration, than in being too preſumptuous. For as thoſe who venture to gaze ſtedfaſtly on the light of the ſun, unleſs they are in a manner divine, and can behold his rays like the genuine off-ſpring of eagles *, cannot ſee what is unlawful to be ſeen †, and the more they endeavour it, the weaker are their efforts; ſo he, who preſumes to write to you, clearly ſhews that the bolder he is, the more he ought to fear. But you, diſtinguiſhed ſage, who, I may ſay, were created for the total preſervation of Gentiliſm, judged right in ſending me frequent letters, and thus, as far as poſſible, checking my indolence. For as the ſun (again to compare you with that deity), when he ſhines perfectly bright with full radiance, is regardleſs whether all the objects that he illuminates perform their reſpective functions with propriety ‡; you, in like manner, ſhould liberally diffuſe the light of your knowledge among all the Gentiles, and not ſecrete it becauſe fear or modeſty prevents your hearers from making a reply. Æſculapius does not heal diſeaſes from intereſted motives, but every where diſplays his humanity, like a kind of doctrine. You, being the phyſician of noble ſouls,

* See Epiſtle XVI. p. 31.

† Οὐδὲ ἃ μὴ θεμις ὀφθηναι. Not unlike St. Paul, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι, *not lawful for a man to utter.* 2 Cor. xii. 4.

‡ This paſſage in the original being corrupted and mutilated, I can only gueſs at the meaning.

ſhould do the ſame, and in every thing obſerve the precepts of virtue; like a good archer, who, though he has no adverſary, always exerciſes his art againſt a proper opportunity. Our views are not the ſame, as we wiſh to enjoy your auſpicious letters, and you to receive ours. But we, though we ſhould write a thouſand times, reſemble the playful children in Homer, who erect clay-buildings on the ſhore, and then ſoon overwhelm them with ſand *: While your letter, however ſhort, is preferable to the moſt copious ſtream. And in truth, I had rather poſſeſs one epiſtle of Jamblichus than all the gold of Lydia.

If you have any regard for your friends (and ſome regard you have, or I am much miſtaken), do not neglect us, who, like poultry, are always in want of your ſuſtenance; but write frequently, and forbear not to nouriſh us with your good cheer. And if we have been deficient, diſcharge at once two friendly offices, that of writing to us, and alſo of writing for us. For ſuch a pupil of eloquent Mercury as you are, ſhould employ his rod, not in exciting, but in baniſhing and diſpelling ſleep, and in this particular, above all, let him be your model.

* Il. XV. 362, where the poet deſcribes the Grecian turrets nodding, and the bulwarks falling, when ſhaken by Apollo;

Eaſy, as when aſhore, the infant † ſtands,
And draws imagin'd houſes in the ſands,
The ſportive wanton, pleas'd with ſome new play,
Sweeps the ſlight works and faſhion'd domes away.
POPE.

† Julian, quoting by memory, ſubſtitutes παιδες for παις.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XLI. To the ſame.

IN obedience to the Delphic oracle, we ſhould have known ourſelves, and not preſumed to ſtun the ears of a ſage like you, whoſe very looks it is difficult to encounter, much more to contend with him in genius, as he combines all the powers of philoſophic harmony. Every muſician, Ariſtæus * not excepted, muſt yield to Pan, when he breathes ſweet melody; and when Apollo warbles to his lyre, all, though they had the muſical powers of Orpheus, would be ſilent. Conſcious, as we are, of our own inferiority, it is juſt that the leſs ſhould ſubmit to the greater. But he who would put human in competition with divine harmony muſt be unacquainted with the cataſtrophe of Marſyas † the Phrygian, and with the river named from him, which flows as a puniſhment to the mad muſician.

* The ſon of Apollo by Cyrene, the daughter of Peneus, king of Arcadia. He is ſaid to have diſcovered the uſe of honey, milk, rennet, and other uſeful things. Juſt. Hiſt. xiii. 7. This the poets have turned into a fable. See Virg. Georg. iv. 317, &c. One MS. inſtead of Αρισταιος, has αριστος, ("the beſt" muſician.) The fable of Ariſtæus is alſo in the IVth book of the Odyſſey.

† A ſatyr, who challenged Apollo, and, being overcome by him, was flead alive, and changed into a river. See Ovid. Metam. VI. and Liv. XXVIII. 13.

Nor

Nor can he have heard of the fate of Thamyris *, who unſucceſsfully contended in ſinging with the Muſes. Not to mention the Sirens †, of whom ſuch of the Muſes as conquered them ſtill bear a wing in their foreheads. All theſe now ſuffer, and will long ſuffer, for their preſumption; we therefore, as I ſaid before, ought to have remained within our own bounds, and to have been quietly ſatisfied with your ſtrains, like thoſe who ſilently receive the oracle of Apollo iſſuing from the ſacred

* Il. II. 595.

Superior once of all the tuneful race,
Till, vain of mortals empty praiſe, he ſtrove
To match the ſeed of cloud-compelling Jove.
Too daring bard! whoſe unſucceſsful pride
Th' immortal Muſes in their art defy'd.
Th' avenging Muſes of the light of day
Depriv'd his eyes, and ſnatch'd his voice away.

POPE, 732.

† As to the wings of the Sirens, ſee Ælian de natura anim. *l.* XVII. *c.* 23.

This conteſt of the Sirens with the Muſes is thus mentioned by Spenſer:

They were fair ladies, 'till they fondly ſtriv'd
With th Heliconian maids for maiſterye,
Of whom they overcomen were, depriv'd
Of their proud beauty, and th' one moiety
Transform'd to fiſh, for their bold ſurquedry ‡.

Fairy Queen, b. XI. c. 12. ſt. 31,

which Mr. Spence juſtly quotes as one inſtance (among many) of this great poet's "miſrepreſenting the ſtories and "allegorical perſonages of the ancients, the Sirens being "never repreſented in antiques with a fiſh-tail, but with "the upper part human, and the lower like birds." See Polymetis, p. 302.

Ovid, in his Metamorphoſes, v. 553. aſcribes their tranſformation to another cauſe.

‡ Preſumption.

ſhrines.

shrines. But since you lead our song, and by your eloquence, as with the rod of Mercury, rouse us from sleep, we, in the manner of those enthusiasts, who with dances meet Bacchus, when he celebrates his orgies, will join in unison with your harp, as they in tune and measure accompany the leader of the dance. Accept therefore the orations *, which, by the command of the Emperor †, I lately composed on the celebrated junction of the straits ‡; a small work, if compared with yours, and brass for your gold §; but such presents as we have ‖, we offer to our Mercury. Theseus by no means despised the coarse fare of Hecale **; but, urged by necessity, was satisfied with little. And the shepherd Pan disdained not to apply to his lips the pipe of a young herdsman. Such as it is, then, receive it, and scorn not to bestow great attention on a small poem ††. If it have any merit, both the work and its author will be fortunate in receiving such a token of esteem from Minerva.

* These orations are not extant.

† Constantius.

‡ Does he mean the Hellespont joined by Xerxes? PETAU.

§ Il. VI. 236. Julian seems particularly fond of this passage, this being the third time of his quoting or alluding to it in these Select Works.

‖ Οις δε εχομεν ξενιοις—εξιωσιλες. Not unlike that expression of St. Peter, Acts III. 6. Ο δε εχω, τουτο σοι διδωμι. *Such as I have, I give thee.*

** A poor old woman mentioned by Callimachus, as having entertained Theseus with wild lettuce. See Plin. Hist. Nat. XXII. 22. and XXVI. 8.

†† Ολιγω μελει. Could this be one of those which before were styled λογων ("orations?")

And

And ſhould a finiſhing hand be neceſſary to complete it, diſdain not, I intreat you, to ſupply its defects. Thus of old the God appeared to the archer * who invoked him, and directed his ſhaft, and thus the harper who was playing the Orthian † tune was anſwered by Apollo in the form of a graſs-hopper ‡.

An Edict relating to Profeſſors §.

17 June, 362. PROFESSORS and maſters ſhould be diſtinguiſhed firſt by their manners, and in the next place by their talents. We therefore forbid any,

* Paris probably, when Apollo guided his arrow againſt Achilles. See Ovid. Metam. XII.

† A kind of loud muſic uſed by Arion, according to Herodotus. It is introduced by Homer, Il. xi. 11. where Diſcord

——— ——Through the Grecian throng,
With horror ſounds the loud Orthian ſong.

POPE, 13.

‡ I am aware that the Greek word τέττιξ, and the Latin *cicada*, mean a different inſect from our graſs-hopper; for it has a rounder and ſhorter body, is of a dark green colour, ſits upon trees, and makes a noiſe five times louder than our graſs-hopper. It begins its ſong as ſoon as the ſun grows hot, and continues ſinging till it ſets. Its wings are beautiful, being ſtreaked with ſilver, and marked with brown ſpots; the outer wings are twice as long as the inner, and more variegated; yet, after the example of Mr. Pope (ſee Il. III. 300.), I retain the uſual term.

FAWKES *on Theocritus.*

§ I have taken this Epiſtle from the Theodoſian Code, XIII. *t.* 3. *De mediis et profeſſoribus.* It is not known from what

any, whoever they be, to intrude haſtily or raſhly into this important office. He who would keep a ſchool muſt be approved by the council of the town, and alſo have the ſanction of the principal inhabitants; and, as I * cannot be every where perſonally preſent, let the decree be ſent to me for examination, that the candidate may have the additional honour of ſeeing the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens † confirmed by our opinion.

Given at * * * * on the fifteenth of the calends of July. Received at Spoleto on the fourth of the calends of Auguſt, in the conſulſhip of Mamertinus and Nevitta.

what place it was dated, nor to whom Julian addreſſed it. It only appears that he wrote it on the road from Conſtantinople to Antioch, as he left Conſtantinople in the month of May, and was at Antioch towards the end of July. It was made, without doubt, on account of ſome profeſſor of Spoleto, a city of Picenum, and conſequently was addreſſed either to the Præfect of the Prætorium of Italy, or to the Præfect of Rome, or perhaps to the Conſular of Picenum (now the march of Ancona), or, laſtly, to the inhabitants of Spoleto. The intention of Julian is plain. He reſerves to himſelf the right of confirming or annulling the election of profeſſors, in order to exclude the Chriſtians from all literary offices. This law might perhaps be part of the following edict. I have therefore placed it here.

LA BLETERIE.

* The Emperors generally ſpeak in the plural in their laws; Julian, however, here uſes the ſingular. *Sed quia ſingulis civitatibus adeſſe ipſe non poſſum, jubeo*, &c. *Ibid.*

† The original is, *Hoc enim decretum ad me tractandum deferetur* ‡, *ut altiore quodam honore noſtro judicio* (M. de la Bleterie thinks we ſhould read *noſtrum judicium*) *ſtudiis civitatum accedat.*

‡ In Gothofred's edition, *referetur*.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XLII. An Edict, forbidding the Chriſtians to teach polite Literature *.

A. D. 362. TRUE learning, in my opinion, conſiſts not in words, in elegant and magnificent language, but in the ſound diſpoſitions of a well-formed

* Two motives induced Julian to reſtrain the Chriſtian profeſſors from teaching: 1. He flattered himſelf, that, in order to keep their chairs, they would change their religion. In this, he did not ſucceed, if, as Oroſius ſays, almoſt all rather choſe to quit them. This, in particular, is affirmed of Prohæreſius, the ſophiſt, of Athens, and of Marius Victorinus, who profeſſed eloquence at Rome. 2. Julian knew, by his own experience, that maſters, when they ſhewed their ſcholars the ancient authors, never failed to inſiſt on the weakneſs and folly of Paganiſm. He was ſenſible how much a Chriſtian maſter can contribute to the progreſs of religion, when he explains profane authors chriſtianly, and equally avails himſelf of the truth and the falſhood which he finds there in order to conduct his pupils to God and Jeſus Chriſt. This is what he wiſhed to prevent. But, inſtead of diſcovering his true motives, he employs the moſt lamentable pretext that can be; ſo that this piece of eloquence is a maſter-piece of ſophiſtry. M. Fleury has inſerted moſt of it in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

LA BLETERIE.

His moſt illiberal treatment of the Chriſtians was, his forbidding the profeſſors, who were of that religion, to teach humanity and the ſciences in the public ſchools. His more immediate deſign in this was to hinder the youth from taking impreſſions to the diſadvantage of Paganiſm; his remoter view, to deprive Chriſtianity of the ſupport of human literature. His own hiſtorian, Ammianus Marcellinus, paſſes a ſevere ſentence on this edict, XXI. 10.

WARBURTON.

His

formed mind, and in juſt notions of good and evil, of virtue and vice. Whoever therefore thinks or teaches otherwiſe ſeems no leſs deſtitute of learning than he is of virtue. Even in trifles, if the mind and tongue be at variance, it is always eſteemed a kind of diſhoneſty. But if in matters of the greateſt conſequence a man thinks one thing

His driving from their ſchools ſuch teachers of rhetoric and grammar as profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, was ſevere (*inclemens*), and ſhould be buried in eternal oblivion.

AMMIANUS.

He enacted no oppreſſive laws . . . . a few excepted; among which was that ſevere one, which forbade Chriſtian maſters to teach rhetoric and grammar, unleſs they conformed to the worſhip of the Gods. . . . *Ibid.*

Ammianus has twice mentioned this Edict, and always with diſlike, as a great hardſhip. Oroſius ſays, that "when Julian publiſhed his edict forbidding the Chriſtian profeſſors of rhetoric to teach the liberal arts, they "all in general choſe rather to reſign their chairs than "deny the faith." And Jerom, in his Chronicle, aſſures us, that "Prohæreſius, the Athenian ſophiſt, in particular, [ſee Epiſtle II.] "ſhut up his ſchool, though the Emperor had granted him a ſpecial licence to teach." Auguſtine records the like ſteadineſs of Victorinus, who had long taught rhetoric with great applauſe at Rome. But Ecebolus, a Chriſtian ſophiſt at Conſtantinople [ſee Epiſtle XIX.], who had been Julian's maſter in rhetoric, was overcome by the temptations of the times, and with great humiliations intreated to be reconciled to the church.

LARDNER.

This Edict may be compared with the groſs invectives of Gregory (*Orat.* III. *p.* 96.). Tillemont (*Mem. Eccl. tom.* VII. *p.* 1201—1204.) has collected the ſeeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be eaſily reconciled. The Chriſtians were *directly* forbid to teach; they were *indirectly* forbid to learn, ſince they would not frequent the ſchools of the Pagans. GIBBON.

and teaches another *, does he not reſemble thoſe mean-ſpirited, diſhoneſt, and abandoned traders, who generally affirm what they know to be falſe, in order to deceive and inveigle cuſtomers?

All therefore who profeſs to teach ought to be ſtrict in their morals, and ſhould never entertain opinions oppoſite to thoſe of the public; ſuch, eſpecially, ought to be thoſe who inſtruct youth, and explain to them the works of the ancients, whether they are orators, or grammarians; but particularly ſophiſts, as they affect to be the teachers, not only of words, but of manners, and inſiſt that civil philoſophy is their peculiar province. Whether this be true or not I ſhall not at preſent conſider. I commend thoſe who make ſuch ſpecious promiſes, and ſhould commend them much more, if they did not falſify and contradict them-

* If the Chriſtian profeſſors, when they explained in their ſchools Homer, Heſiod, &c. had canoniſed the doctrine of thoſe writers, the reproaches of Julian would have been juſt; yet perhaps he would not have made them. A book may be eſteemed in ſome reſpects, and condemned in others. No one is deceived by this. To explain the claſſic authors, to commend them as models of language, of eloquence and taſte, to unveil their beauties, &c. this is not propoſing them as oracles of religion and morality. Julian is pleaſed to confound two things ſo different, and to erect, under favour of this confuſion, the puerile ſophiſtry which prevails through his whole edict.

LA BLETERIE.

Thus Homer's Achilles, Il. IX. 312.

Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My ſoul deteſts him like the gates of hell. POPE.

ſelves

ſelves by thinking one thing, and teaching their ſcholars another. What then? Were not Homer, Heſiod, Demoſthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Iſocrates, Lyſias, guided in their ſtudies by the Gods, and eſteemed themſelves conſecrated, ſome to Mercury, and others to the Muſes? It is abſurd therefore for thoſe who explain their works to deſpiſe the Gods whom they honoured.

I do not mean (I am not ſo abſurd *) that they ſhould change their ſentiments for the ſake of inſtructing youth; I give them their option, either not to teach what they do not approve, or, if they chooſe to teach, firſt to perſuade their ſcholars, that neither Homer, nor Heſiod, nor any of thoſe whom they expound, and charge with impiety, madneſs, and error, concerning the Gods, are really ſuch as they repreſent them. For as they receive a ſtipend, and are maintained by their works, if they can act with ſuch duplicity for a few drachms, they confeſs themſelves guilty of the moſt ſordid avarice.

Hitherto, I allow, many cauſes have prevented their reſorting to the temples; and the dangers that every where impended were a plea for their diſguiſing their real ſentiments of the Gods. But now, when the Gods have granted us liberty, it ſeems to me abſurd for any to teach what they do not approve. And if they think that thoſe

* Petau thinks that ſomething is wanting here to perfect the ſentence.

writers whom they expound, and of whom they ſit as interpreters, are truly wiſe, let them firſt zealouſly imitate their piety towards the Gods. But if they think their ideas of the moſt holy Gods erroneous, let them go into the churches of the Galileans, and there expound Matthew and Luke *. In obedience to your rulers, you forbid ſacrifices. I wiſh that your ears and your tongues were (as you expreſs it) regenerated † in thoſe things of which I wiſh that myſelf, and all who in thought and deed are my friends, may always be partakers.

* Let all the moral truths which are found, or are ſuppoſed to be found, diſperſed here and there in the Pagan writers, be collected; let all profane antiquity, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, be laid under contribution; the ſyſtem which can be drawn from it will be far leſs valuable than what we are taught in a few words by the authors of whom Julian affects to ſpeak with contempt, and will ſo far only be rational, as it reſembles their doctrine.

LA BLETERIE.

A juſt and ſevere cenſure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Chriſtians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. The motives alleged by the Emperor to juſtify this partial and oppreſſive meaſure might command, during his life-time, the ſilence of ſlaves, and the applauſe of flatterers. GIBBON.

† He ridicules the Chriſtians by the trite application of an expreſſion uſed by them. Αναγεννησις is commonly underſtood of baptiſm, the reformation of the new man, and the change of ſtudies and manners. Therefore forbidding the Chriſtians to read the books of the Heathens, he ſays, he would have their ears and tongues cleanſed from all acquaintance with their writings, that what is depoſited in them may in a manner be born again. PETAU.

To

To maſters and teachers let this be a general law. But let no youths be prevented from reſorting to whatever ſchools they pleaſe *. It would be as unreaſonable to exclude children, who know not yet what road to take, from the right path, as it would be to lead them by fear, and with reluctance, to the religious rites of their country. And though it might be proper to cure ſuch reluctance, like madneſs, even by force †, yet let all be indulged with that diſeaſe. For the ignorant ſhould, in my opinion, be inſtructed, not puniſhed.

* This was fair, but would by no means be accepted. Here the bait was half off the hook, and diſcovered, that to draw them to the ſchools of the Pagan profeſſors was one end of the edict, which he imagined would neceſſarily reduce things to this ſtate, either to diſpoſe the Galileans, during their youth, in favour of Paganiſm, or to diſable them, in their adult age, to defend Chriſtianity. So that it appears from hence, his forbidding Chriſtian profeſſors to *explain* Pagan writers to any audience whatſoever, amounted to a prohibition of *learning* them. WARBURTON.

Mr. Gibbon has adopted the ſame idea in a former note, p. 113.

† He derides the μωρια Γαλιλαιων (Epiſt. VII.) and ſo far loſes ſight of the principles of toleration as to wiſh (Epiſt. XLII.) σχολας ισθαι. GIBBON.

Epiſtle XLIII. To Ecebolus *.

A. D. 362.

SO mild and humane have been my decrees concerning the Galileans, that none of them can ſuffer any violence, or be dragged to the temples, or be expoſed to any other injury. But they who are of the Arian church, being pampered with riches †, have attacked the Valentinians, and have dared to perpetrate ſuch outrages at Edeſſa as can never be tolerated in a well-governed city. Therefore, as they are taught, in their wonderful law, the moſt eaſy method of entering into the kingdom of heaven, for this pur-

* This is not the ſophiſt under whom Julian had ſtudied, and to whom he addreſſed Epiſtle XIX. This, no doubt, was the chief magiſtrate of Edeſſa, the capital of Oſrhoëna, a province beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris.

La Bleterie.

About the ſame time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edeſſa of the diſorders which occaſioned this mandate. Gibbon

† The Arians were put in poſſeſſion of the church of Edeſſa, under Conſtantius. They muſt neceſſarily therefore be great perſecutors to retain it under Julian. The Valentinians derived their name from the hereſiarch Valentinian, who lived in the ſecond century after Jeſus Chriſt, and who, by a mixture of the goſpel, of Platoniſm, and the theogony of Heſiod, formed a ſyſtem ſo compounded, ſo extravagant, that we do not underſtand it, perhaps he did not underſtand it himſelf. Some remains of the Valentinians ſtill exiſted in the Vth century.

La Bleterie.

poſe

poſe co-operating with them *, we have ordered all the wealth of the church of the Edeſſenes † to be confiſcated and given to our ſoldiers, and the lands to be annexed to our demeſnes. Thus being poor they may become wiſe, and not fail of that heavenly kingdom to which they aſpire ‡.

We alſo command the inhabitants of Edeſſa to refrain from all tumults and ſeditions §, leſt, if they provoke my humanity, you yourſelf ſhould be puniſhed for the public diſorders by exile, fire, and the ſword.

Epiſtle

* Julian might boaſt as much as he pleaſed of not being a perſecutor. Thoſe profane and cruel railleries, which fell from the pen of the ſovereign, were in themſelves a cruel perſecution, and muſt expoſe the Chriſtians to the fury of the idolaters, wherever they found themſelves the ſtrongeſt. In order to ill-treat thoſe who are not of their religion, the populace only wait for the leaſt ſignal from the prince, and frequently not even for that.

LA BLETERIE.

† The effects of the church of Edeſſa were probably returned to it by the ſucceſſors of Julian. At leaſt, it was very rich in the vth century. *Ibid.*

‡ Doubtleſs Julian refers to divers texts of the goſpels; perhaps to Matth. v. 3. Luke vi. 20. Matth. xix. 21. or ſome other parallel places. But few will allow him to be a good interpreter of ſcripture, or that he deduces right concluſions from it. LARDNER.

§ Theſe diviſions might perhaps be occaſioned by the Arians having ſeized the church and its revenues, though the greater part of the inhabitants was inviolably attached to the Catholic faith. It is notorious, that, nine years after the death of Julian, in the reign of Valens, the biſhop, the clergy, and the laity, ſtrictly deſerved the glorious title of confeſſors. The women, and even the children, ſhared the glory of this confeſſion. The Edeſſenes pretended

Epiſtle XLIV. To LIBANIUS *.

RECOVERING lately from a ſevere and dangerous illneſs, by the providence of the Superviſor of all things, your letter was delivered to me on the day that I firſt bathed. Reading it in the afternoon, I can ſcarce expreſs how much it confirmed me in my opinion of your pure and diſintereſted benevolence, of which I wiſh I were worthy, that I may not diſgrace your friendſhip. I immediately began your Epiſtles †, but could not finiſh them: thoſe from Antony to Alexander I poſtponed to the next day. A week after, my health, by the providence of God, improving to my wiſh, I wrote you this. May you be preſerved, my moſt eſteemed and beloved brother, [by God, who regards all things! may I ſee you, my beſt friend! With my own hand, by your ſafety and my own, by God the ſuperintendant

that their city had the honour of being the firſt that dedicated itſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, and ſhewed in their archives a letter which they believed to have been written to one of their kings by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf in the courſe of his mortal life. We may judge to what degree Julian hated them, and we muſt no longer be ſurpriſed at his writing to Ecebolus, or rather to the whole ſenate of Edeſſa, ſo bitter and ſo threatening a letter. LA BLETERIE.

* This, in one MS. is addreſſed "to Priſcus."

† What theſe "Epiſtles" were we know not. Poſſibly ſome in aſſumed characters (now loſt), ſuch exerciſes being common with this ſophiſt.

of

of all things, I have written what I think. Excellent man, when ſhall I ſee and embrace you? For now, like a diſappointed lover, I am enamoured even of your name *.]

Epiſtle XLV. To Zeno †.

BESIDES many other proofs of your having attained the ſummit of the medical art, to which you have added propriety of behaviour, good-nature, and regularity of life, this teſtimony now crowns all, your having turned the whole city of Alexandria towards you in your abſence; ſuch a ſting, like a bee, you have left behind you. And with reaſon; for Homer well obſerves, A. D. 362.

A wiſe phyſician, ſkill'd our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal ‡.

And you are not merely a phyſician, but alſo a maſter to all who practiſe phyſic, ſo that you are to phyſicians what phyſicians are to others. For this reaſon you are re-called from exile, and with great ſplendor. If you were obliged to quit Alex-

* The words between [ ] are added in one MS.

† Some MSS. give Zeno the title of "Chief Phyſician," (ἀρχιάτρῳ). He was, it appears, a celebrated profeſſor of phyſic, a Pagan without doubt, as Julian expreſſes to him ſo much eſteem and affection.

La Bleterie.

‡ Il. xi. 514. Pope, 636. The words of Idomeneus on Machaon. It is needleſs to obſerve that the ancient phyſicians were ſurgeons.

andria

andria by the Georgian * faction, as the proceſs was unjuſt, you may moſt juſtly return. Return therefore to your former honour, and let acknowledgements be paid to us by both; by the Alexandrians for reſtoring Zeno to them, and by Zeno for reſtoring to him the Alexandrians.

Epiſtle XLVI. To EUAGRIUS †.

I INHERITED from my grandmother ‡ a ſmall eſtate in Bithynia, conſiſting of four farms, and with it I reward your affection to me. It is too inconſiderable to elate a man with wealth, or to confer

* George had equally perſecuted the Catholics and the Pagans. He muſt have procured by ſurpriſe ſome order of Conſtantius to baniſh Zeno; for if George had only driven him out by force, this phyſician, ſo dear to the city of Alexandria, would not have waited for an order from the ſucceſſor of Conſtantius to return thither. LA BLETERIE.

† It is not known to whom this Epiſtle is addreſſed. It is very well written; nevertheleſs, it is tinctured with pedantry. *Ibid.*

The name of "Euägrius" occurs in the index to Petau's edition. I have therefore added it. He is probably the ſame who is mentioned in the concluſion of the XXXVIIIth Epiſtle.

Libanius has two Epiſtles to one of this name, and mentions him in ſeveral others. He held, it appears, ſome office under the government, and being accuſed of ſome miſmanagement in it, was brought to trial, but was acquitted by the intereſt of Salluſt, whom Libanius thanks for his good offices.

‡ In the Duties of a Prieſt, p. 122, Julian mentions his inheriting the whole eſtate of his grand-mother, which had been forcibly with-held from him.

felicity,

felicity, but its endowments are by no means unpleaſing, as you may judge from the particulars. And there is no reaſon why I ſhould not be jocular to you who abound with elegance and wit.

It is twenty ſtadia * diſtant from the ſea, and is therefore undiſturbed by trafficking merchants and clamorous or quarrelſome ſailors. Yet it is not entirely deſtitute of the graces of Nereus; for it can always ſupply a gaſping fiſh freſh-caught, and an eminence near the houſe commands a view of the Propontic ſea, the iſlands, and the city which bears the name of a great prince †; and inſtead of being diſguſted by ſea-weed, and various other kinds of filth that ſhall be nameleſs, which are often thrown on the beach and the ſands, ground-ivy, thyme, and other aromatic herbs, will afford you a conſtant regale. When with tranquil attention you have purſued your ſtudies, and wiſh to relax your eyes, the proſpect of the ſhips and the ocean is delightful. In this retirement I found many charms when I was a boy, for it has fountains alſo far from deſpicable, a beautiful bath, a garden, and an orchard; and when I grew up, I was ſtill ſo fond of it, that I frequently reſorted to it, and therefore my obtaining it ſeemed a fortunate circumſtance. It affords too a ſmall memorial of my agriculture, a ſweet and fragrant wine, which is

* About two miles and a half.

† Conſtantinople.

good

good even when it is new *. In ſhort, you will there ſee Bacchus and the Graces. The grapes, both when they hang on the vines, and are preſſed into the vat, are as odoriferous as roſes. But as ſoon as the wine is in the caſks, to ſpeak in the language of Homer, it is

A rill of nectar, ſtreaming from the Gods †.

Why then, you will ſay, did I not plant many more acres with ſuch vines? Becauſe I was not a very keen huſbandman; and beſides, as mine is a temperate cup, and the neighbourhood abounds with nymphs, I provided enough for myſelf and my few male friends. Such as it is, my dear friend, you will now accept it: however trifling the

* In the original, Ουκ' αναμενονλα τι παρα τε χρονε προσλαβειν, literally, "not waiting to receive any thing from time." But the Latin tranſlator has affixed a meaning no leſs oppoſite to the intention of Julian, than to fact and obſervation: *neque temporis diuturnitate vitii quicquam aſſumit.* Though our Imperial author was no votary of Bacchus, his "cup" (as he ſays) being "temperate" (νηφαλιος), he muſt have known, and meant to intimate, that, in general, old wine is proverbially good, and *vice verſâ*. *A new friend*, ſays the wiſe ſon of Sirach, *is like new wine; when it is old, thou ſhalt drink it with pleaſure.* Eccl. IX. 10.

† Τε νεκταρος εστιν απορρωξ. *Odyſſ.* IX. 359. POPE, 426.

The elogium of Polyphemus on the rich Maronean wine given him by Ulyſſes. This wine alſo, like that of Julian,

Breath'd aromatic fragrances around, ver. (210.) 245.

Julian, it appears, had ſeveral female friends whom he occaſionally mentions, viz. Areta, Theodora, Enodia, &c. but here, to avoid any miſconſtruction, he takes particular care to ſpecify, that though "there were many nymphs "there" (πολυ των νυμφων δε εστιν), thoſe whom he entertained were "a few of the other ſex" (ολιγον δε εστι το χρημα των ανδρων.)

preſent, it is pleaſing to a friend both to give and receive, " from houſe to houſe," according to the wiſe Pindar *.

This is a haſty epiſtle, written by lamp-light. Whatever therefore may be its faults, do not criticiſe them with the ſeverity of one orator towards another †.

Epiſtle XLVII. To the Inhabitants of Thrace ‡.

TO a prince who was avaricious your requeſt would ſeem unreaſonable, nor ſhould the public revenue ever be injured through any favour to individuals. But as it is our view not to collect from our ſubjects as much as poſſible, but rather to do them the utmoſt poſſible good, we remit you what is due. Not indeed the whole, but it ſhall be divided; one moiety you ſhall retain, and the other ſhall be given to the ſoldiers. Of

* Οἰκοθεν οἰκαδε. I have not found theſe words in Pindar. If I have ſearched well, it muſt be ſuppoſed that Julian took them from one of the works of that poet which has not been tranſmitted to us. La Bleterie.

M. de la Bleterie has not "ſearched well." They are both in the VIth and VIIth Olympics.

† This concluſion ſavours more of the author than the prince. *Ibid.*

‡ He remits them the arrears of taxes till a certain time, namely, till the third indiction, or levy, which began in the year of Chriſt, 359. This uſed to be ſtyled "an indulgence." See *Cod. Theod. l.* XI. *tit.* 28. *De indulgentiis debitorum.* Petau.

this

this no inconſiderable part will alſo be yours, as they preſerve you in peace and ſafety. We remit you therefore, till the third indiction *, all that is in arrear; after that, you muſt pay it as uſual. For what we have remitted to you is fully ſufficient; and the public revenue we muſt not impair. I have written on this ſubject to the præfects, that the favour intended you may have its full effect.

I pray the Gods always to preſerve you †.

* The name and uſe of the indictions, which ſerve to aſcertain the chronology of the middle ages, were derived from the regular practice of the Roman tributes. The Emperor ſubſcribed with his own hand, and in purple ink, the ſolemn edict, or indiction, which was fixed up in the principal city of each dioceſe, during two months previous to the firſt day of September. And, by a very eaſy connection of ideas, the word "indiction" was transferred to the meaſure of tribute which it preſcribed, and to the annual term which it allowed for the payment.

The proportion, which every citizen ſhould be obliged to contribute for the public ſervice, was aſcertained by an accurate *cenſus*, or ſurvey, and from the well-known period of the indictions there is reaſon to believe that this difficult and expenſive operation was repeated at the regular diſtance of fifteen years. The cycle of indictions, which may be traced as high as the reign of Conſtantius, or perhaps of his father Conſtantine, is ſtill employed by the papal court; but the commencement of their year has been very wiſely altered to the firſt of January. GIBBON.

† This ſentence is added in one MS.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle XLVIII. To * * * *.

MY body is on many accounts in an indifferent ſtate of health *; my mind, however, is pretty well. An epiſtle from one friend to another cannot, I think, have a better preface. Of what then does this preface conſiſt? Of a petition, I ſuppoſe. For what? An epiſtolary correſpondence; which, I hope, will confirm my wiſhes, and bring me intelligence of your health and happineſs.

Epiſtle XLIX. To Arsacius, High-prieſt of Galatia †.

THAT Helleniſm ‡ does not yet ſucceed as we wiſh is owing to its profeſſors. The gifts of the Gods are indeed great and ſplendid, and far ſuperior A. D. 362. or 363.

* From this and ſeveral other paſſages, which the reader muſt have obſerved, it appears, that Julian had frequent returns of illneſs, owing probably to his great and conſtant fatigue of mind and body, and to his rigid manner of life.

† This pontiff is not known. I imagine this Epiſtle was written, at the ſooneſt, towards the end of the year 362, as it ſuppoſes that ſome time had been employed in endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh Helleniſm. Sozomen and M. Fleury have thought the whole worth being inſerted in their Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Indeed it would be impoſſible to produce a more honourable and leſs ſuſpicious teſtimony in favour of our religion. But I will not deprive the reader of the pleaſure of

ſuperior to all our hopes, to all our wiſhes. For (be Nemeſis propitious to my words!) not long ago no one dared to hope for ſuch and ſo great a change in ſo ſhort a time. But why ſhould we be ſatisfied with this, and not rather attend to the means by which this impiety § has increaſed, namely, humanity to ſtrangers, care in burying the dead, and pretended ſanctity of life? All theſe, I think, ſhould be really practiſed by us.

It is not ſufficient for you only to be blameleſs. Intreat or compell all the prieſts that are in Galatia to be alſo virtuous. If they do not, with their wives, children, and ſervants, attend the worſhip of the Gods, expell them from the prieſtly function; and alſo forbear to converſe with the ſervants,

of making himſelf all the uſeful reflections which the peruſal of this piece ſupplies. LA BLETERIE.

The paſtoral letters of Julian, if we may uſe that name, ſtill repreſent a very curious ſketch of his wiſhes and intentions. GIBBON.

‡ This was the ſtyle at that time. *Helleniſm* is Heatheniſm, or Gentiliſm. And Heathens are called *Hellenes*, and Helleniſts, by our Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, eſpecially in their hiſtory of Julian's reign. LARDNER.

§ A ſingular kind of impiety, which renders man the friend of man, and makes him practiſe all virtues! To charge good men with hypocriſy is the uſual reſource of extravagant prejudice and wickedneſs. Julian, with all his genius, did not and would not ſee that a ſociety, ſo numerous as the Chriſtians then were, does not carry on and cannot even conceive ſuch a deſign. Hypocriſy will never be a popular vice. The multitude, be it what it may, is always honeſt. LA BLETERIE.

children

children, and wives, of the Galileans *, who are impious towards the Gods, and prefer impiety to religion. Admoniſh alſo every prieſt not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exerciſe any trade or employment that is mean and diſgraceful. Thoſe who obey you, honour; and thoſe who diſobey you, expell. Erect alſo hoſpitals in every city, that ſtrangers may partake our benevolence; and not only thoſe of our own religion, but, if they are indigent, others alſo.

How theſe expences are to be defrayed muſt now be conſidered. I have ordered Galatia to ſupply you with thirty-thouſand buſhels of wheat † every year; of which the fifth part is to be given

* Αλλα ανεχοιντο τ ν οικετων, η υιεων, η των Γαλιλαιων γαμετων, κ. τ. λ. I have attempted a new tranſlation of this paſſage, not being ſatisfied with any other which I have met with. In Spanheim's edition the Latin verſion is, *ne patiantur ſervos, aut filios, aut conjuges Galilæorum impiè in Deos ſe gerere, et impietatem pietati præponere.* And much to the ſame purpoſe is the Latin tranſlation of this Epiſtle in Sozomen, made by Valeſius, which would be commanding every Heathen prieſt and his family to become perſecutors; which cannot be ſuppoſed to be probable. Cave, in the introduction to his Hiſtory of the Fathers of the IVth century, p. 34. "not ſuffering their ſervants, children, or "wives, to be Galileans, who are deſpiſers of the Gods, "and prefer impiety before religion," which cannot be right. For it is a tautology, ſaying over again the ſame thing which had been ſaid juſt before. And yet Bleterie's tranſlation is much to the ſame purpoſe: *s'ils ſouffrent dans leur famille de ces impies de Galiléens.* LARDNER.

I have adopted this conſtruction.

† The Latin and French tranſlations add here "and "ſixty-thouſand *ſextarii* (or *ſeptiers*) of wine," words, for which there is no authority in Petau's or Spanheim's edition.

to the poor who attend on the prieſts, and the remainder to be diſtributed among ſtrangers and our own beggars. For when none of the Jews beg, and the impious Galileans relieve both their own poor and ours, it is ſhameful, that ours ſhould be deſtitute of our aſſiſtance *.

Teach therefore the Gentiles to contribute to ſuch miniſterial functions, and the Gentile villages to offer to the Gods their firſt-fruits. Accuſtom them to ſuch acts of benevolence, and inform them that this was of old the regal office. For Homer puts theſe words into the mouth of Eumæus:

——— It never was our guiſe
To ſlight the poor, or aught humane deſpiſe;
For Jove unfolds our hoſpitable door,
'Tis Jove that ſends the ſtranger and the poor †.

Let us not ſuffer others to emulate our good actions, while we ourſelves are diſgraced by ſloth ‡, leſt

* Julian beheld with envy the wiſe and humane regulations of the church, and he very frankly confeſſes his intention to deprive the Chriſtians of the applauſe, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the excluſive practice of charity and benevolence. GIBBON.

See the concluſion of the Duties of a Prieſt, Vol. I. p. 142, &c.

† Odyſſ. XIV. 56. Pope, 65. This paſſage is quoted by Mr. Harris, on the ſubject of the Arabian hoſpitality. See his *Philological Enquiries*, part III. ch. 7.

‡ Who doubts but that, before Chriſtianity appeared in the world, the Pagans performed ſome humane actions, and that ſome among them practiſed ſome moral virtues? But it was not as Pagans, it was as men that they practiſed them: In that they only followed the impreſſions of the law and religion of nature. It was becauſe the corruption

ruption of the heart, the ſtrange idea which the idolaters, at leaſt the people, formed of the divinity, and that monſtrous collection of ſenſeleſs opinions, of ſcandalous traditions, and of ridiculous ſuperſtitions, in which Paganiſm conſiſted, had not abſolutely extinguiſhed the *light which ſhineth in darkneſs*.

The Pagans had a morality, but Paganiſm had none. It is no leſs abſurd to appropriate virtues to it, as Julian does, than it would be to aſcribe to infidelity ſome virtuous actions, of no conſequence, which eſcape from infidels. Suppoſing that they have ſome probity, it is from temper, from intereſt, from caprice, becauſe they are men, and often becauſe they have preſerved ſome remains of a Chriſtian education. This epiſtle of Julian ſhews, how many virtues, even thoſe which by the pleaſure that attends their practice carry with them their reward, were rare among the Pagans. Could the finger of God be miſtaken in a religion which renders all virtues common; which, founded alſo on all the proofs of which a fact is ſuſceptible, brings into the world a ſyſtem of morality the moſt perfect that can poſſibly be imagined, ſupports it by the moſt powerful motives and examples, regulates even the moſt ſecret motions of our ſouls; in a word, which re-eſtabliſhes, unfolds, and perfects the principles of the law of nature, almoſt effaced in the minds of men, and ſtill more in their hearts?

Let us judge of the neceſſity of Chriſtianity by the horrid crimes which were committed, and are ſtill committed, in the beſt-governed Pagan nations. To the diſgrace of Philoſophy, it will, for inſtance, be always true to ſay, that mankind are indebted to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt for the abolition of the barbarous cuſtom of expoſing infants. In this reſpect the moſt ſavage animals riſe up in judgement, even at the tribunal of reaſon, againſt the Greek, the Roman, and the Chineſe.

To deprive our religion of a glory which is peculiar to it it would be uſeleſs to ſay, that Mahometaniſm has been equally ſerviceable to humanity. Who knows not, that this falſe religion ſuppoſes and acknowledges the miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and is only a corruption of Chriſtianity and Judaiſm? No one can deny, that the Chriſtian religion has at leaſt ſweetened the manners, civiliſed the barbarous people who have embraced it, enlightened, as to his duties,

leſt by negligence we loſe our reverence for the Gods. If I hear that you practiſe this, I ſhall overflow with joy.

Viſit the dukes * ſeldom at their houſes, but write to them often. Whenever they enter a city, let none of the prieſts go to meet them; but when they reſort to the temples, let them be received within the veſtibule. When they enter, let none of

the rudeſt Pagan, diffuſed every where ſome delicacy of conſcience, and, even among thoſe whom it does not alter, a tincture of probity. A Chriſtian, moderately inſtructed, and of common virtue, knows more in point of morality, and is more philoſophical than a philoſopher. Thoſe who, like Julian, but with leſs ſplendor than he, have abandoned the Chriſtian religion, are more indebted to that religion than they imagine. They, as well as Julian, are indebted to it for the exacteſt and pureſt notions of certain moral virtues. It is from that that ſome have retained thoſe maxims of rigid probity of which they would not have made parade, if Chriſtianity had not given them reputation. It has already been ſaid, that if, which is impoſſible, the goſpel were falſe, it would be for the intereſt of mankind to believe it true. LA BLETERIE.

* Or commanders of the troops. See note on Epiſtle XXVIII, p. 73. Julian, in what follows, ſeems very attentive to the dignity of the prieſthood, by endeavouring to prevent thoſe who were ordained to any holy office from degenerating into mere ſecular politicians, party zealots, and danglers at the levees (as we now call them) of the great. What ſo proper to impreſs them with a juſt opinion of their own rank and importance as to forbid their mixing in popular aſſemblies and tumultuous proceſſions, even when intended to give honour where honour was due, and paying idle or even ceremonious viſits, and rather to confine them within the precincts of their own temples, where, without offence, they had an undoubted precedence? In the Duties of a Prieſt, in like manner, the prieſts are allowed to "viſit the dukes and præfects." See Vol. I. p. 138.

their

their guards precede them; but let who will follow them. For as soon as they enter the door of the temple, they become private persons. You yourself, you well know, have a right to precede all who are within it, that being agreeable to the divine law. Those who are truly pious will obey you, and none will oppose you but the proud, ostentatious, and vain-glorious.

I am ready to assist the people of Pessinus *, if they can render the Mother of the Gods propitious to them. But if they neglect her, they will not only be culpable, but, which is more harsh to say, will incur my displeasure †.

No law requires that they my care should prove,
Or pity, hated by the powers above ‡.

There-

* See Epistle XXI. p. 43.

† An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people. GIBBON.

‡ See Odyss. X. 73. What Julian says here does not seem to agree with the order which he has just given to establish some hospitals, where all might be received, Christians as well as Pagans. This contradiction, if such it were, would not have been the only one of which he had been guilty. But it is only apparent. The duties of humanity are strictly just. They are obligatory with regard to all men. But favours are due to none; and it was some favour that the inhabitants of Pessinus had asked of the Emperor. LA BLETERIE.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted, in the true spirit of a bigot, are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of

Therefore assure them, that, if they wish for my protection, all the people must supplicate the Mother of the Gods.

Epistle L. To Ecdicius, Præfect of Ægypt *.

A. D. 362. "YOU tell me my dream †," says the proverb. But I am going to tell you what you have seen waking. The Nile, I am informed, has

winds. Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c.* 59. *p.* 286.) attempts to justify this partial behaviour by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candour. GIBBON.

† The lines in Homer are,

Ου γαρ μοι θεμις εστι κομιζεμεν, ουδ' αποτεμπειν
Ανδρα, τ' ος κε θεοισιν απεχθηται μακαρεσσιν.

His baneful suit pollutes these blest'd abodes,
Whose faith proclaims him hateful to the Gods.
POPE, 85.

Julian has altered them thus, at the expence of a false quantity, and a jingle:

Ου γαρ μοι θεμις εστι κομιζεμεν, η' ελεαιρειν
Ανδρας, οι και θεοισιν απεχθωνται' αθανατοισιν.

In the last word, probably, his memory might deceive him, as απεχθωνται μακαρεσσιν would have suited his purpose and metre as well. The other alterations (και perhaps excepted) must have been intentional.

* This Epistle is a good piece of pleasantry on the negligence of Ecdicius. That governor, I fancy, would rather have received a serious reprimand. Nothing was more interesting to the Emperor and the empire than an account of how many cubits the Nile had risen in the autumnal solstice, as on that depended the fertility of Ægypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople. Where the waters rose too much, or too little, the lands could not be sown. "If the increase," says Pliny, (*l.* v. *c.* 9.) "be only twelve

has risen several cubits, and overflowed all Ægypt. If you wish to know the number, it was fifteen on the twentieth of September. This intelligence I received from Theophilus, præfect of the camps. If you had not heard it before, rejoice at hearing it now from me.

" twelve cubits, the province is afflicted with famine; if " it be only thirteen, it still suffers. Fourteen give joy; " fifteen safety; sixteen absolute plenty." The Nile swells from the middle of July to the solstice. When it is at its greatest height, the canals are opened, to let it in upon the lands. It returns to its bed in the month of November. The seeds are then sown. The corn is reaped in May. LA BLETERIE.

The cubit, by which the rising of the Nile in Ægypt was measured, had been usually lodged in the temple of Serapis [at Alexandria]. Constantine removed it into a Christian church. But Julian ordered it to be replaced in the temple of Serapis. His statue and temple having been demolished, by order of Theodosius I. in the year 391, it was given out by the Gentiles that the Nile would no longer overflow. Nevertheless it rose the following year to an uncommon height. The cubit was then again restored to the Christians. LARDNER.

Thales, the Milesian, accounted for the inundation of this river by the Etesian winds blowing against the mouth of it at that season. But the same would probably then happen to other rivers where the like winds are known to blow. The true cause is probably the melting of the snows on the mountains of Ethiopia, when the sun comes over them. Yet these winds may contribute to make the overflow more regular and lasting, as they are an equal balance to the waters, and prevent their running into the sea after these have sufficiently fertilised the land.

† Το σον ονας σοι διηγεμαι, " I tell you your dream." That is, " I tell you what you yourself know better than I." In Suidas this proverb is quoted from some unknown author, and also in Plato *De Republ. l.* VIII. It seems derived from those who consult interpreters of dreams; whom some also require to guess what they have dreamed. ERASMUS.

Epiſtle LI. To the ALEXANDRIANS *.

A. D. 362. IF your city had had any other founder, any one of thoſe who, tranſgreſſing their own laws †, had juſtly ſuffered puniſhment for leading a wicked life, and introducing a new doctrine, a new religion, even then it would have been unreaſonable for you to wiſh for Athanaſius. But now, as the founder of your city is Alexander ‡, and your ruler and tutelar deity king Serapis, with the virgin his aſſociate, and the queen of all Ægypt, Iſis, * * * *, you do not act like a healthy city, but the diſtempered part dares to arrogate the

* The Catholics, who were, without doubt, the moſt numerous, preſented, in the name of the city, a petition to the Emperor, requeſting the repeal of the order which he had iſſued againſt Athanaſius. The Emperor anſwers their petition by this new Edict. M. Fleury quotes the whole of it. LA BLETERIE.

† Thoſe whom Julian here treats as apoſtates (a reproach ſtrange enough in his mouth), had not abandoned the God of their fathers, to run after ſtrange gods. They believed in the ſecond revelation, which was only the object, the ſequel, and the accompliſhment of the firſt. By dying for the doctrine of their maſter, they have proved that they were not deceivers. The proofs of the fact which determined them to embrace it are of ſuch a nature, that it is impoſſible for them to have been deceived. Could Julian allege any thing ſimilar in juſtification of his change? He has here given us a very remarkable ſketch of his reaſons in the pathetic diſcourſe which he addreſſes to the inhabitants of Alexandria. *Ibid.*

‡ See Epiſtle X. note †, p. 20.

name

name of the whole. By the Gods, men of Alexandria, I am aſhamed, that any of you ſhould avow himſelf a Galilean.

The anceſtors of the Hebrews were formerly ſlaves to the Ægyptians. But now, men of Alexandria, you, the conquerors of Ægypt (for Ægypt was conquered by your founder), ſuſtain a voluntary ſervitude to the deſpiſers of your national rites, in oppoſition to your ancient laws *; not recollecting your former happineſs, when all Ægypt had communion with the Gods †, and enjoyed many bleſſings. But tell me, what advantage ‡ has accrued to your city from thoſe who now introduce among you a new religion? Your founder was that pious man § Alexander of Macedon, who did

* The Hebrews were ſubjected to the ancient kings of Ægypt; the Alexandrians therefore ought to prefer the Greek religion to the doctrine of the Apoſtles: What a ſingular complication of bad arguments! La Bleterie.

† If they recollected it, they recollected but little of it. *Ibid.*

Julian makes intercommunity the diſtinguiſhing character of the Pagan religion. For the Imperial ſophiſt, writing to the people of Alexandria, and upbraiding them with having forſaken the religion of their country, in order to aggravate the charge, inſinuates them to be guilty of ingratitude, as having forgotten "thoſe happy times when "all Ægypt worſhipped the Gods *in common*" (κοινα πν κοινωνια). Warburton.

‡ The Chriſtian religion does not promiſe temporal bleſſings; but, if men practiſe it, they will be as happy as they can be on earth. La Bleterie.

§ In matters of religion, what authority was that of Alexander? What conqueſts were his, compared to thoſe of

did not, by Jove, reſemble any one of theſe, or any of the Hebrews, who far excelled them. Even Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus *, was alſo ſuperior to them. As to Alexander, if he had encountered, he would have endangered, even the Romans. What then did the Ptolemies, who ſucceeded your founder? Educating your city, like their own daughter, from her infancy, they did not bring her to maturity by the diſcourſes of Jeſus, nor did they conſtruct the form of government with which ſhe is now bleſſed by the doctrine of the odious Galileans.

Thirdly, after the Romans became its maſters, taking it from the bad government of the Ptolemies †, Auguſtus viſited your city, and thus addreſſed the citizens: "Men of Alexandria, I acquit your city of all blame, out of regard to "the great God Serapis, and alſo for the ſake of "the people and the grandeur of the city. A "third cauſe of my kindneſs to you is my friend

of the Apoſtles? I beg the reader to recollect that paſſage in the epiſtle to Themiſtius (p. 24.), where Julian raiſes Socrates above Alexander; and to determine whether the juſt reaſons which he has given for preferring the former are not infinitely more ſtriking and deciſive in favour of the diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt. Here Julian ſpeaks like a true ſophiſt. He was well acquainted with Alexander, and would not have wiſhed to reſemble him in every thing. LA BLETERIE.

* Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, was one of the generals of Alexander, who ſhared his empire. He founded the kingdom of Ægypt. *Ibid.*

† The family of the Lagides terminated in the perſon of Cleopatra, after having reigned 300 years. *Ibid.*

"Areus."

" Areus *." This Areus, the companion of Auguſtus Cæſar, and a philoſopher, was your fellow-citizen.

The particular favours conferred upon your city by the Olympic Gods were, in ſhort, ſuch as theſe. Many more, not to be prolix, I omit. Thoſe bleſſings which the illuſtrious Gods beſtow in common every day, not on one family, nor on a ſingle city, but on the whole world, why do you not acknowledge? Are you alone inſenſible of the ſplendor that flows from the ſun †? Are you alone ignorant that ſummer and winter are produced by him, and that to him all things owe their life and origin? Do you not alſo perceive the great advantages that accrue to your city from the moon, from him and by him the diſpoſer of all things? Yet you dare not worſhip either of theſe deities; and this Jeſus, whom neither you, nor your fathers have ſeen, you think muſt neceſſarily be God the Word ‡, while him, whom, from eternity, every

* The ſame who is mentioned in the Cæſars, (Vol. I. p. 193.) and in the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, (p. 25.) La Bleterie.

† All nature, and the heavenly bodies, in particular, prove the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and declare his power, his wiſdom, and his goodneſs. But their ſplendor, the regularity of their motions, and the uſes which they render to mankind do not prove that they are governed by ſome particular intelligences, and much leſs that they deſerve to be worſhipped. *Ibid.*

‡ I have already ſaid that Julian placed the *Logos*, or Demiurgus, in the Sun. *Ibid.*

Θεον λογον. Taken from St. John, i. 1. Θεος ην ὁ λογος, *The Word was God.*

generation

generation of mankind has seen, and sees, and worships, and by worshipping lives happily, the great sun, I mean, a living, animated, rational, and beneficent image of the intelligible Father *, you despise. If you listen to my admonitions †, * * * *, you will by degrees return to truth. You will not wander from the right path, if you will be guided by him, who, to the twentieth year of his age, pursued that road, but has now worshipped the Gods for near twelve years.

If you will follow my advice, my joy will be exuberant. But if you will still persevere in that superstitious institution of designing men, agree, however, among yourselves, and do not desire Athanasius. There are many of his disciples who are abundantly able to please your itching ears ‡, desirous as they are of such impious discourses. I wish that this wickedness were confined to Athanasius and his irreligious school. But you have

* In another place (*apud Cyril. l.* 11. *p.* 69.) he calls the sun "God, and the throne of God." Julian believed the Platonician Trinity, and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal to an immortal Logos. GIBBON.

Though the Alexandrians saw the sun, they by no means saw that he was a divinity; but without having seen the MAN GOD, they had certain proofs of his mission; proofs which, all united, form, in fact, a complete demonstration. It is worth observing, that Julian, in one and the same phrase, speaks the language of Pyrrhonism and that of credulity. LA BLETERIE.

† Something here is wanting.

‡ Τας ακοας υμων κνησιωσας. Similar to that expression of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 3. κνηθομενοι την ακοην.

among

among you many, not ignoble, of the ſame ſect, and the buſineſs is eaſily done. For any one whom you may ſelect from the people, in what relates to expounding the ſcriptures will be by no means inferior to him whom you ſolicit. But if you are pleaſed with the ſhrewdneſs of Athanaſius (for, I hear, the man is crafty), and therefore have petitioned, know, that for this very reaſon he was baniſhed. That ſuch an intriguer ſhould preſide over the people is highly dangerous; one, who is not a man, but a puny contemptible mortal, one who prides himſelf on hazarding his life *, cannot but create diſturbances. That nothing of that kind might happen, I ordered him formerly to leave the city, but I now baniſh him from all Ægypt.

Let this be communicated to our Alexandrians.

* I cannot convey all the energy of the Greek: Μηδὲ ανηρ, αλλ' ανθρωπισκος ευτελης, καθαπερ ουτος, ο μεγας (it ſhould be το μεγα) οιομενος περι της κεφαλης κινδυνευειν. *Ne vir quidem, ſed homuncio nullius pretii, qualis iſte eſt, qui de capite periclitari magnum aliquid exiſtimat.* LA BLETERIE.

The preſent tranſlator may ſay the ſame.

M. de Tillemont concludes from this text, that Athanaſius was a little man, and that his perſon had nothing that announced the grandeur and elevation of his mind. The moſt, I think that we can conclude from this expreſſion of Julian is, that, Athanaſius was not of a proper height. I ſay, the moſt; for it muſt be obſerved, that it is an Emperor who ſpeaks of one of his ſubjects, and who affects to ſpeak of him in a tone of contempt. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* XXI.) ſays, that Athanaſius "had the form of an angel," αγγελικος το ειδος. It even appears, that, when he went to meet the Emperor Conſtantine the younger, in Gaul, that prince was ſtruck with his advantageous appearance. *Ibid.*

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LII. To the Bostrenians *.

Aug. 362. I THOUGHT that the prelates of the Galileans had been under greater obligations to me than to my predeceſſor. For in his reign many of them were baniſhed, perſecuted, and impriſoned; and numbers of thoſe, who are ſtyled heretics, were put to death, particularly at Samoſata and Cyzicus; and in Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and many other provinces, whole villages were laid waſte and entirely depopulated †. In my reign the re-

* Boſtra, or Boſra, as it is ſtyled in ſcripture, was a Roman colony, and the capital of Arabia. It had then for its biſhop a man equally well verſed in polite literature, and the doctrine of the church, named Titus.

La Bleterie.

In this very remakable Epiſtle to the people of Boſtra, Julian profeſſes his moderation, and betrays his zeal; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and expoſed by Gregory, (*Orat.* III. *p.* 73.) Gibbon.

† The ſucceſſor of Conſtantius has expreſſed, in a conciſe, but lively, manner, ſome of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more eſpecially the Eaſt, in the reign of a prince, who was the ſlave of his own paſſions, and of thoſe of his eunuchs. *Ibid.*

Under Conſtantius the Arians, who pretended to be the Catholic church, had perſecuted not only the orthodox, but alſo the ſectaries, eſpecially the Novatians, who, without receiving the council of Nice ſubſequent to their ſchiſm, were no leſs zealous than the orthodox for conſubſtantiality. They were the ſubſiſting and unſuſpected proof of the novelty of Arianiſm; which made them much regarded by the Catholics, and more odious to the Arians than the Catholics themſelves. La Bleterie.

verſe

verſe has happened. For they who had been baniſhed are allowed to return, and to thoſe whoſe goods had been confiſcated, all have been reſtored. Such, nevertheleſs, are their madneſs and folly, that, becauſe they can no more tyranniſe, or perpetrate what they had projected, firſt againſt their brethren, and then againſt us, the worſhippers of the Gods, enraged and exaſperated, they move every ſtone, and dare to alarm and inflame the people *; impious towards the Gods, and diſobedient to our edicts, humane as they are. For we ſuffer none of them to be dragged to the altars againſt their will. We alſo publickly declare, that, if any are deſirous to partake of our luſtrations and libations, they muſt firſt offer ſacrifices of expiation, and ſupplicate the Gods, the averters of evil. So far are we from wiſhing to admit any of the irreligious to our ſacred rites before they have purified their ſouls by prayers to the Gods, and their bodies by legal ablutions †.

The populace therefore, deluded by thoſe who are called the clergy, as the ſeverity above-mentioned is aboliſhed, grow tumultuous. For they who have been uſed to tyranniſe, not ſatisfied with impunity for their paſt crimes, but ambitious of their former power, becauſe they are no

* The Arian clergy, who were in poſſeſſion of a great number of churches, gave occaſion to the invectives of Julian. LA BLETERIE.

† One who ſpeaks in this manner was very capable of having endeavoured to efface his baptiſm. *Ibid.*

longer permitted to act as judges *, or make wills †, or embezzle the estates of others, and appropriate every thing to themselves, all, if I may so say, pull the ropes of sedition, and, as the proverb expresses it, heap fuel on the fire, and scruple not to add greater evils to the former by urging the multitude to commotions.

It is my pleasure therefore to declare and publish to all the people, by this edict, that they must not abet the seditions of the clergy, nor suffer themselves to be induced by them to throw stones, and disobey the magistrates. They may assemble together, if they please, and offer up such prayers as they have established for themselves. But if the clergy endeavour to persuade them to foment disturbances on their account, let them by no means concur, on pain of punishment.

* Julian had revoked all the privileges granted to the church, and, among them, the law by which Constantine allowed those who had law-suits to decline the ordinary jurisdiction, and to apply to the bishops, whose sentences were to be executed like those of the Emperor himself. LA BLETERIE.

† Γραφειν διαθηκας, *scribere testamenta*, may here have three meanings; 1. to make wills; 2. to receive wills in a public capacity; 3. to dictate or suggest wills. Julian had not deprived the clergy of the right of making wills. This is proved by the silence of Christian writers. Among the Romans, to the making of the most solemn will no public person was requisite: there only wanted a certain number of witnesses. The third sense therefore remains. A law of Constantine, which is still in being, allowed wills to be made in favour of the church. Julian having abrogated that law, the ecclesiastics could no longer engage any one to give his estate to the church by will, and consequently to their advantage, as Julian pretends they had. *Ibid.*

I thought proper to make this declaration to the city of Boſtra in particular, becauſe the biſhop, Titus *, and the clergy †, in a memorial which they have preſented to me, have accuſed the people of being inclined to raiſe diſturbances, if they had not been reſtrained by their admonitions. I will tranſcribe the words which the biſhop has dared to inſert in that memorial: "Though the Chriſtians "are as numerous as the Gentiles, they are re- "ſtrained by our exhortations from being tumul- "tuous." Theſe are the words of the biſhop concerning you. Obſerve, he does not aſcribe your regularity to your own inclination; unwillingly, he ſays, you refrain, "by his exhortations." As your accuſer, therefore, expell him from the city ‡. And, for

* This Titus, biſhop of Boſtra, taught that we do not die in conſequence of the ſin of Adam, but by the neceſſity of nature; and that Adam himſelf would have died, if he had not ſinned. In this he was followed by Pelagius. PRIESTLEY.

† It ſeems as if there was an apprehenſion of ſome commotion in the city of Boſtra. Julian had threatened to make the biſhop, Titus, and his clergy, reſponſible for the whole. The biſhop had preſented, or cauſed a memorial to be preſented, to the Emperor, accounting for his conduct. LA BLETERIE.

‡ If we did not know how much the mind is narrowed by the ſpirit of party, it would be inconceivable that an Emperor, a man who piqued himſelf on reaſoning, and who publiſhed this himſelf, ſhould be capable of ſuch a trick [*tracaſſerie.*] I uſe this word, becauſe it is a low one, and I know none more proper to characteriſe the artfulneſs of Julian, who was determined, at any rate, to prejudice in the minds of the people an irre-

for the future, let the people agree among themſelves; let no one be at variance, or do an injury to another; neither you who are in error, to thoſe who worſhip the Gods, rightly and juſtly, in the mode tranſmitted to us from the moſt ancient times; nor let the worſhippers of the Gods deſtroy or plunder the houſes of thoſe who rather by ignorance than choice are led aſtray. Men ſhould be taught and perſuaded by reaſon, not by blows, invectives, and corporal puniſhments. I therefore again and again admoniſh thoſe who embrace the true religion in no reſpect to injure or inſult the Galileans *, neither by attacks nor reproaches.

proachable prelate, who employed his authority to maintain the public tranquillity. This philoſophical Emperor, in an edict which breathes the principles of mutual ſupport, foments the flame, which he pretends it is his wiſh to ſtifle. If he had baniſhed the biſhop, his orders would have been peaceably obeyed. But does not his adviſing the people to drive him out indicate a deſign to excite a tumult? Some might conſider the advice of the Emperor as an order, and others only as an advice. Hiſtory does not inform us what was the conſequence of this affair.

LA BLETERIE.

After this, no inſtance of baſeneſs, or injuſtice, will be thought ſtrange. It is remarkable that the author of the Characteriſtics has given us a tranſlation of this letter, for "a pattern," as he tells us, "of the humour and genius, "of the principles and ſentiments, of this virtuous, gallant, "generous, and mild Emperor." p. 87, &c. 4th edition. It is true, his tranſlation drops the affair of Titus, their biſhop. So that nothing hinders his reader from concluding but that the Emperor might be as "gallant and generous" as he is pleaſed to repreſent him. WARBURTON.

* How irreconcileable is this with the above Edict, [Epiſtle XLII.] for which he deſerved no ſmall reproof from (in

proaches. We ſhould rather pity than hate thoſe who in the moſt important concerns act ill. For as piety is the greateſt of bleſſings, impiety, certainly, is the greateſt of evils. Such is their fate, who turn from the immortal Gods to dead men *, and their relicks. With thoſe who are thus unhappy we condole, but them who are freed and delivered by the Gods we congratulate †.

Given at Antioch on the calends of Auguſt.

Epiſtle

(in other reſpects) his chief panegyriſt! "It was very un-"merciful in him (as that excellent writer expreſſes it) to "forbid the maſters of grammar and rhetoric to teach "the Chriſtians, unleſs they embraced the worſhip of the "Gods." Amm. Marc. xxv. 4. SPANHEIM.

* Απο Θεων επι τους νεκρους μεταθετραμμενους. An expreſſion ſimilar to that of St. Paul, Επεστρεψατε προς τον Θεον απο των ειδωλων: *Ye turned to God from idols, to ſerve the living God.* 1 Theſ. i. 9.

† From this Edict, as well as from other things, it appears that Julian was very fond of Helleniſm, or Heatheniſm. And Sozomen's obſervations appear to be very pertinent. Julian was very ready to lay hold of every pretence, and to improve every occaſion, to rid himſelf of the Preſidents of Chriſtian churches; eſpecially ſuch as had an influence with the people. We ſee three inſtances of this, in Athanaſius of Alexandria, Eleuſius of Cyzicum, and Titus of Boſtra, all of them men of great diſtinction.

Julian here makes repeated profeſſions of moderation and equity toward the Chriſtians. But the letter bears witneſs againſt him. Titus was one of the moſt learned men of the age. His people were peaceable, and he had exhorted them to be ſo. And yet Julian commands his people to expell him out of their city; under a pretence, that his exhortations to a peaceable behaviour implied an accuſation of an unpeaceable temper.

Julian was a man of great ingenuity, ſobriety of manners, and good-natured in himſelf. But his zeal for the religion which he had embraced was exceſſive, and de-

Epiſtle LIII. To the Philoſopher JAMBLICHUS *.

O JUPITER! can it be true that we reſide in the middle of Thrace, and winter in its caverns, while from the excellent Jamblichus, as from ſome eaſtern ſpring, letters greet us, inſtead of ſwallows, though we are not yet allowed to go to him, nor he to come to us? Who but a Thracian, or one like Tereus †, can with equanimity ſupport this?

O royal Jove! from Thrace the Grecians free ‡,
Diſpell theſe fogs, and give us but to ſee

generated into bigotry and ſuperſtition; inſomuch that with all his pretenſions to right reaſon, and all his profeſſions of humanity, moderation, tenderneſs, and equity, he has not eſcaped the juſt imputation of being a perſecutor. LARDNER.

This learned writer has given an Engliſh tranſlation of the above Epiſtle in his Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, Vol. IV. p. 108.

* See Ep. XXXIV. note *, p. 80.

† Tereus was a king of Thrace, but ſeems here introduced for his cruelty and brutality. See Ovid. Metam. VI.

‡ Ζευ ατω' αλλα συ ρυσαι απο Θρηκηθεν Αχαιους, altered from Il. XVII. 645. Ζευ πατερ, αλλα συ ρυσαι υπ' ηερος υιας Αχαιων, the beginning of the celebrated prayer of Ajax, applauded by Longinus and others. The other line is the ſame as in Homer. Pope has thus tranſlated them:

——————— Lord of earth and air!
O King! O Father! hear my humble prayer!
Diſpell this cloud, the light of heaven reſtore,
Give me to ſee, and Ajax aſks no more. 727.

ſometimes our Mercury, and to ſalute his ſhrine, and embrace his images, as Ulyſſes is ſaid to have done, when, after his wanderings, he at laſt ſaw Ithaca *; though the Phæäcians departed, after laying him out of the ſhip, like a bale of goods, in his ſleep †. But ſleep does not ſeize us till we are allowed to ſee the great bleſſing of the world. You too are jocoſe in ſaying that I and my companion Sopater ‡ have tranſported all the Eaſt into Thrace. For if the truth muſt be ſpoken, while Jamblichus is abſent, I ſeem involved in Cimmerian § darkneſs. Beſides, you deſire one of theſe alternatives,

* Ulyſſes, at his return to Ithaca, Odyſſ. XIII.

————————With joy confeſs'd his place of birth,
And on his knees ſalutes his mother earth ; POPE, 403.

but where Julian found the two other circumſtances mentioned above, I cannot ſay.

† Odyſſ. XIII. 116.

Ulyſſes ſleeping on his couch they bore,
And gently plac'd him on the rocky ſhore, &c.
POPE, 138.

‡ Could this be the Sopater, who afterwards entertained him at Hierapolis, (ſee p. 70.) whom he "had (then) "ſcarce ever ſeen before ?"

§ The Cimmerians were a people of Italy who dwelt in a valley, between Baiæ and Cumæ, ſo ſurrounded with hills, that it is ſaid they never ſaw the ſun. There was the Sibyl's grot, and there was ſuppoſed to be the deſcent to hell.

Great obſcurity, or darkneſs, of the mind, is called "Cimmerian darkneſs." This adage aroſe from the prodigious darkneſs of the Cimmerian region, which Strabo deſcribes in his firſt book of his Geography, and quotes the following paſſage from the Odyſſey of Homer, XI. 14.

alternatives, either that I would go to you, or that you may come to me; one of which, namely, that I would return to you, and enjoy your advantages, is very desirable to me. The other exceeds all my wishes. But as this is not only inconvenient to you, but also impracticable, remain at home, fare you well, and continue to enjoy your present tranquillity. As to me, whatever the Gods shall allot, I will bear with fortitude: for it is the character of the virtuous to cherish good hopes, and to perform their duty; but always to submit to fatal necessity.

There, in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances, or retreats:
Unhappy race, whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.

BROOME, 15.

Tully also mentions the Cimmerians in the IVth book of his Academic Questions. And in this country Ovid, in the XIth book of his Metamorphoses, has built a temple to the God of Sleep. ERASMUS.

Epistle

Epiſtle LIV. To GEORGE, the Catholic *.

LET Echo be, as you ſay, a Goddeſs, and talkative, and alſo, if you pleaſe, the wife of Pan †. I ſay nothing to the contrary. Though Nature would teach me, that Echo is the ſound of the voice reverberated by the percuſſion of the air, and reflected back to the ear, yet, by the opinion both of ancients and moderns, as well as by yours, I am induced to think that Echo is a Goddeſs. But what is this to me, who in love to you far exceed Echo? For ſhe does not reply to every thing ſhe hears, but only to the laſt words of the voice, like a coy miſtreſs, who receives the ſalute of her lover on the extremity of her lips. In this as I gladly lead the way, ſo again challenged by you, like a tennis-player, I return the ſtroke. You ſhall not eſcape, but ſhall be convicted by your own letter; and in that image you may diſcover a reſemblance of yourſelf, as you re-

* Epiſtle VIII. is addreſſed to the ſame.

† The Mythologiſts fable, that Echo was deſperately beloved by Pan. See, among others, Hephæſtion in the Writers of poetic hiſtory, publiſhed by Thomas Gale, p. 353. WOLFIUS.

And thus Libanius ſays to his friend Demetrius, "You "have tranſmitted me ſo ſweet a voice by your epiſtle, "that I was quite captivated by it, and enamoured of its "charms, admiring the beauty of the words no leſs than "Pan admired the Goddeſs!" Ep. CCCCXLII.

ceive much and return little, not of me, who endeavour to excell in both. But whether you return with the ſame meaſure that you receive, or not, whatever I receive from you is agreeable to me, and ſhall be deemed a full and ſatisfactory anſwer.

Epiſtle LV. To Eumenius and Pharianus *.

A. D. 359. WHOEVER has perſuaded you that any thing is more pleaſing and beneficial to mankind than philoſophiſing in eaſe and ſecurity, is deceived himſelf, and deceives you. If you retain your former ſpirit, and, like a ſparkling flame, it be not ſuddenly extinguiſhed, I deem you happy. Four years have now elapſed, and almoſt three months more, ſince we parted. I would gladly therefore learn what progreſs you have made in that time. As to me, it is a wonder that I can even ſpeak Greek, ſuch barbariſm I have contracted in this country †. Deſpiſe not oratory,

* Theſe were probably two of Julian's fellow-ſtudents, whom he left with regret at Athens, in 355, when he was ſummoned to court by Conſtantius, and created Cæſar. I have therefore dated this Epiſtle as above. I know not that their names occur any where elſe.

Among the Epiſtles of Libanius, preſerved (in Latin) by Zambicari, are two to Eumedius, (III. 257, 8.) which probably means this Eumenius, eſpecially as in one of them Andromachus, an Athenian, is recommended to him.

† This expreſſion ſhews, that Julian was then in Gaul. It is ſimilar to one in Epiſtle XXIX. p. 75.

nor

nor neglect rhetorick, nor be inattentive to poetry. But let your principal ſtudy be philoſophy; and in this beſtow all your labour on the maxims of Ariſtotle and Plato. Be this your chief work; be this the baſe, the foundation, the walls, the roof. Let the reſt be no more than offices; which, however, you may finiſh with more ſkill than ſome can build a manſion.

This advice is given you by one, who, by divine Nemeſis, loves you both with a brotherly affection, as having been his ſchool-fellows and intimate friends. If you retain a regard for me, my affection will increaſe. If not, I ſhall grieve. And what at length may be the conſequence of continual grief, for the ſake of a better omen, I ſuppreſs.

Epiſtle LVI. To Ecdicius, Præfect of Ægypt.

IF any thing particularly deſerves our ſerious attention, it is ſacred muſic. Selecting therefore from among the Alexandrians ſome youths of good families, order two *artabæ* * to be diſtributed every month to each; and ſome oil, wheat, and wine. The præfects of the treaſury ſhall ſupply them with cloaths. They ſhall be choſen by

* Among the Ægyptians, that an *artaba* made twenty *modii* we are told by Jerom on Iſaiah, ch. v.

Among the Perſians it was different, as we learn from Herodotus, *l.* 1. ROBERTSON.

their

their voices. Mean time, let those who are proficients in that art be informed, that we have allotted rewards for their labours. And, besides these encouragements from us, they may also be assured by those who have a right judgement in these things, that they will profit their souls by purifying them with divine music. So much for these youths. As to what relates to the scholars of the musician Dioscorus, let them cultivate that art with more attention, and they shall receive from us all possible assistance *.

Epistle LVII. To the Philosopher ELPIDIUS †.

THE pleasure even of a short letter is great, when the friendship of the writer is measured, not by the conciseness of his epistle, but by the greatness of his mind. Therefore if my present mental salutation be rather short, do not from thence form a judgement of my regard. But as you well know the extent of my love for you, excuse the brevity of this address, and answer it with-

* This Epistle is a proof of the Emperor's great esteem for music. And indeed it is impossible to read his works without being convinced, that he was ignorant of nothing which was then necessary to be known to render a man an universal scholar. LA BLETERIE.

It is omitted, however, by this translator.

† This philosopher, and the Emperor's kindness to him, are mentioned by Libanius in one of his Epistles to Julian. See Vol. I. p. 305.

out

out delay. For whatever you ſend me, though it be ſmall, I eſteem as a ſpecimen of every thing that is good.

Epiſtle LVIII. To the ALEXANDRIANS.

YOU have a ſtone obeliſk *, I am informed, of a proper height, but that, as if it were worthleſs, it lies on the ſhore. Conſtantius, of bleſſed memory, had conſtructed a veſſel on purpoſe to convey it to my country, Conſtantinople †. But as he, by the will of the Gods, has taken a fatal departure from hence, that city now requeſts this preſent from me, being my country, and conſequently more nearly connected to me than to him. His was a brotherly, but mine is a filial, love ‡; for A. D. 362.

* In a remote but poliſhed age, which ſeems to have preceded the invention of alphabetical writing, a great number of theſe obeliſks had been erected in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis, by the ancient ſovereigns of Ægypt, in a juſt confidence that the ſimplicity of their form and the hardneſs of their ſubſtance would reſiſt the injuries of time and violence. GIBBON.

† Conſtantius cauſed one of the obeliſks that are ſtill ſeen at Rome to be tranſported thither from Ægypt. It is that which was erected by Sixtus V. Conſtantius was deſirous of procuring a like decoration for New Rome. LA BLETERIE.

A veſſel of uncommon ſtrength and capaciouſneſs was provided to convey this uncommon weight of granite from the banks of the Nile to thoſe of the Tyber. GIBBON.

‡ Julian, I think, might have ſaid that *Conſtantine* loved the city as his "daughter;" and then he would have had

no

for I was born there, I was educated there, and therefore I cannot be ungrateful to her *.

As your city is no leſs dear to me than my own country, inſtead of a triangular ſtone engraved with Ægyptian characters, I allow you to erect the coloſſal ſtatue †, which has lately been made, of a man whoſe reſemblance you deſire. And as it is generally reported that ſome perſons repoſe on the top of that obeliſk, and pay it adoration ‡, it

no occaſion to magnify his affection for that place above *Conſtantine's*. However, the more to ſatisfy the Alexandrians, he promiſes them a column of braſs, of a large ſize, in the room of the Ægyptian obeliſk of ſtone. And thus Julian does what had been blamed in *Conſtantine*. He robs and ſtrips Alexandria to enrich and adorn Conſtantinople.

LARDNER.

This learned writer, it is obſervable, has here miſtaken "Conſtantine" for "Conſtantius." Yet he refers to Spanheim's edition, where we read ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνστάντιος.

* In the editions of Julian the Epiſtle ends here. M. Muratori found the concluſion in a MS. of the Ambroſian library, and has publiſhed it in his *Anecdota Græca*, from whence M. Fabricius has inſerted it in his *Bibliotheca Græca*.

LA BLETERIE.

† I imagine this was a ſtatue of Julian himſelf. *Ibid.*

‡ Τινες εισιν οι θεραπευονλες και προσκαθευδονλες αυλε τη κορυφη. M. Muratori tranſlates it, *quoſdam eſſe therapeutas qui obeliſci hujus vertici indormiunt.* He thinks that theſe *therapeutæ* were ſome monks, who, no doubt in the ſpirit of mortification, ſlept on that obeliſk. M. Fabricius adds, that theſe were certainly ſome Stylites. But, 1. in order to find therapeuts here, a force muſt be put upon the text, and no regard paid to the conjunction copulative which connects the two verbs: *cultum adhibentes et indormientes ejus vertici.* 2. The Stylites were entirely unknown before the illuſtrious St. Simeon, who did not aſcend his pillar till about the year 423; and it is remarkable that the anchorets

it ſhould, I am convinced, on account of that ſuperſtition, be removed. For thoſe who ſee them ſleeping there, amidſt the filth which muſt ſur-

chorets of Ægypt ſent and declared to him, that they ſeparated themſelves from his communion, becauſe they could not approve ſo new a kind of life. Nor did they again unite with this ſaint till they had had proofs of his obedience and humility. It is better therefore to tranſlate it as I have done, and to ſay that ſome Heathens paid adoration to this obeliſk. It is well known, that all the obeliſks were dedicated to the ſun, a reaſon ſufficient to miſlead ſome Chriſtian anchorets; and the hieroglyphics which were ſeen on this might render it ſtill more reſpectable to idolaters. Some, hoping no doubt to have divine dreams, went to ſleep on the point, or rather near the point, of this obeliſk, which lay on the ſea-ſhore. The heat of the climate will not admit a doubt that this was in the night; and this nocturnal ſuperſtition ſerved as an occaſion and a pretext for ſome diſorders which completed the diſcredit of Paganiſm. Julian, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, was deſirous of removing that *ſtone of offence*, and of preſerving from this ridicule his unhappy religion, which had already too much of it. *Ibid.*

This obeliſk might be that which Spon ſaw at Conſtantinople in the ſquare of the Armeydan, where was formerly the Hippodrome. It is of Ægyptian granite, fifty feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics. The inſcription on the baſe relates that "Theodoſius undertook to erect "this monument, which lay on the ground, and that Pro"clus accompliſhed the work in thirty-two days." Julian, no doubt, was dead before his obeliſk was erected, and Valens had neglected it. In the reign of Theodoſius they were far from giving the honour of it to Julian, or from ſaying that it had been tranſported from Ægypt by the orders of that apoſtate. It may be objected that the obeliſk of Spon is ſquare, but that this which Julian mentions was triangular, τριγωνε. But this word is a correction of M. Muratori, as the MS. gives τριτωνε, which has no meaning. Probably we ſhould read τετραγωνε, eſpecially as, according to M. Muratori himſelf, all the other obeliſks are ſquare. *Ibid.*

round

round the place, and the ſhameful actions there committed, can by no means regard this ſtone as ſacred, and the ſuperſtition of thoſe who dwell on it confirms unbelievers in their infidelity. You ſhould therefore ſecond me in my undertaking, by ſending this obeliſk to my country, which, when you navigate our ſeas, receives you with ſuch hoſpitality, and thus contributing your aſſiſtance to the outward embelliſhment of that city. Nor can it be diſagreeable to yourſelves to have ſomething of your own extant among us, which, as you ſail towards the city, you may hereafter view with pleaſure.

Epiſtle LIX *. To Dionysius †.

[MORE prudent was your former ſilence than your preſent defence;] for then, though perhaps you deviſed ſcandal, you did not utter it. [But now, teeming, as it were, with ſlander againſt us, you pour it forth moſt abundantly; unleſs I ought not to deem ſlander] and abuſe your thinking

* For an account of this Epiſtle and the former, ſee p. 2. In the editions of Rigalt, Petau, and Spanheim, it is imperfect. The above is tranſlated from a copy in the *Lux Evangelii* of Fabricius, p. 326. collected by Roſtgaard. The additions are inſerted within [].

† The Medicean MS. has this inſcription: Ιουλιανος κατα Νειλου. The beginning of the Epiſtle is wanting in the editions. Fabricius.

me

me like your friends; to each of whom you offered your ſervices unaſked *, but particularly unaſked by the firſt, and the ſecond only hinting that he ſhould be glad of your aſſiſtance, you immediately complied. Whether I reſemble Conaſtns and Magnentius †, facts, as the ſaying is, will ſhew. But you, like Aſtydamas in the comedy, are your own panegyriſt ‡; and this is evident from what you have written. For thoſe expreſſions, "intrepidity," and "great boldneſs," and, "I wiſh you knew who "and what I am," and the like, for ſhame! what boaſting and oſtentation do they exhibit! But, by Venus and the Graces, if you are ſo bold and noble-minded, [why were you ſo fearful of being under the neceſſity of offending a third time? For thoſe who have incurred the diſpleaſure of princes, if they are wiſe, find an eaſe, and perhaps a pleaſure, in

* Suidas: ακλητος, ανωνυμος, δεδωκας σεαυτον ακλητον τω δευτερω. He alludes to the words of Julian. By πρωτερον ("the "former,") underſtand Conſtans ("the ſecond,") ο δευτερος, is Magnentius. FABRICIUS.

† Conſtans, the youngeſt ſon of the great Conſtantine, was engaged in a civil war with his eldeſt brother Conſtantine, who was killed in the courſe of it. Magnentius revolted againſt Conſtantius, and uſurped the Weſt. By comparing Julian to them, Dionyſius perhaps meant to ſtigmatiſe him with the murder of Conſtantius and uſurpation of the empire.

‡ In the MS. σεαυτον επαινεις, not σαυτην επαινεις, γυναι, as even Rigalt to Onoſander, in his edition, p. 90. It refers to Philemon, the comic poet, as appears from the Proverbs of Apoſtolius, Centur. XVII. 30. and Suidas on σαυτην επαινεις. See alſo Zenobius, v. 100. Julian quotes the ſame proverb in his XIIth Epiſtle. FABRICIUS.

being

being discharged from business; or if they must be fined, they suffer in their fortunes; or the utmost effect of resentment is that incurable evil, as it has been called, the loss of life. All these things are scorned and despised by you, who have renounced your friend, a man, from common and general report, well known to us, dull as we are. Instead of this, you say, you invoke the Gods that you may not offend a third time. My anger therefore will not from being good make you wicked. He that could do this would be a prodigy indeed. According to Plato, it might indeed have the contrary effect *. But virtue being perfectly free, you ought to have no such ideas. You, however, think it a great matter to slander all men, to utter the bitterest sarcasms, and to convert the temple of peace into a brothel.]

Do you think that your past faults are in general excused, and that your late courage has atoned for your former cowardice? You know the fable of Chabrias †. A cat was once in love with a handsome youth ‡. Learn the rest from the book. What-

* De Legibus, VI.

† The words τον Χαβριαν are in the Medicean and Barroc. MSS. and this is in the XVIth fable of Chabrias, or Babrias, a Greek poet, who has put the fables of Æsop into Iambic verse.

‡ Rather, according to our fables, a young man was in love with a cat. Dionysius could no more divest himself of his natural pusillanimity, &c. than the cat (transformed to a woman) could forego her pursuit of mice. The Latin translator renders it *mustela* ("a weasel"); but γαλη signifies also "a cat."

ever

ever you may ſay, you will perſuade no one that you were not what you were, and what many have long known you to be. But your unſkilfulneſs and temerity are owing, not to philoſophy, the Gods forbid! but rather to what Plato calls "a double ignorance *." For though experience might have taught you, as it has me, that you know nothing, yet you think yourſelf the wiſeſt of all men, paſt, preſent, or to come; ſo great is your ignorance, ſo abundant your ſelf-conceit.

But enough concerning you. Some apology perhaps is neceſſary to others for ſo readily giving you a ſhare in the conduct of my affairs. I am not the firſt, nor the only one, Dionyſius, who has been miſtaken. Your name-ſake alſo deceived Plato †. [And ſo did Callippus the Athenian ‡, whom, he ſaid, he knew to be wicked, but that he was profligate to ſuch a degree he never could have ſuſpected.] And need I add, that the greateſt of phyſicians, Hippocrates, ſaid, "in my opinion of "the ſutures of the head I was miſtaken §? Thus they were deceived in what they ought to have known,

* The one is when men acknowledge their ignorance, the other when they think they know that of which they are ignorant. *In Alcib.* I.

† Dionyſius the younger ſent for Plato into Sicily, to inſtruct him in philoſophy. See the Life of Dion in Plutarch.

‡ A hearer of Plato, who murdered Dion.

§ The following is doubtleſs the paſſage to which Julian alludes: "Autonomus of Omilus died of a wound on his "head, on the ſixteenth day, having received a hurt by a

known, and even a phyſician was ignorant of a theorem of his own art. Is it ſtrange then that Julian, hearing that Nilöus *, or Dionyſius, had on a ſudden behaved bravely, ſhould be miſtaken?

You have heard of Phædon † of Elis, and you know his hiſtory. If not, read it with attention. He thought that no one is ſo depraved that philoſophy cannot cure him, and that it purifies human life from the paſſions, deſires, and all ſuch diſorders. For that it ſhould be ſerviceable to thoſe who are well born, and well educated, is not at all extraordinary. But if it brings back into the light thoſe whoſe minds are ever ſo much darkened by depravity, this ſeems to me truly admirable. And on that account, as all the Gods know, I began by degrees to form a more advantageous opinion of you.

" ſtone on the ſutures. I did not think it neceſſary to " open it; for that the ſutures themſelves were injured by " the blow eſcaped me." (εκλεψαν δε με την γνωμην αι ραφαι, κ. τ. λ.) *Hipp. de morb.* V. 7. 27. The words above quoted, as from Hippocrates, are, εσφηλαν δε με την γνωμην αι περι την κεφαλην ραφαι. But though in a particular caſe (as above) this great phyſician had the candour to own himſelf miſtaken, it does not follow, nor does it appear, that he was ignorant of the nature of the ſutures in general. Julian truſted to his memory, which, though good, was not infallible.

This candid confeſſion of Hippocrates is mentioned alſo with applauſe by Celſus, VIII. 4. and Plutarch *de profectu in virtutem*, p. 82.

* Τον Νειλωον. MS. Τον Νειλον. FABRICIUS.

† A ſcholar of Socrates, ſo much beloved by Plato, that he inſcribed his divine book, on the immortality of the ſoul, *Phædon*.

Not that I placed you in the firſt, or even in the ſecond, rank of worthies, as you yourſelf perhaps may know. If not, aſk the excellent Symmachus *, for he, I am perſuaded, being naturally diſpoſed to ſpeak truth, will never utter a wilful falſhood.

[But if you reſent my not raiſing you to the higheſt, I reproach myſelf for not degrading you to the loweſt, rank. And I thank all the Gods and Goddeſſes for preventing me from forming an intimacy with you, and making you privy to my counſels, as a boſom friend. Though the poets have ſaid many things of Fame, as a Goddeſs; ſhe is rather, if you pleaſe, a Dæmon. For Fame is not always to be credited; and therefore her nature is dæmoniacal, being not abſolutely pure or perfectly good, like that of the Gods, but allayed with ſome degree of evil †. And though it may not be proper to ſay this of the other Dæmons, I know I may ſafely affirm of Fame, that ſhe utters many falſhoods, as well as many truths ‡. For I

* A Roman orator and præfect, well known by his epiſtles ſtill extant, and by his writings againſt Chriſtianity, refuted by Prudentius and St. Ambroſe. Three epiſtles to him are extant from Libanius, to whom, it appears, he wrote in Latin, as his letters required an interpreter. He was conſul in 391.

† And had not the Gods, as well as Fame and the Dæmons, of Julian and the Heathens, much evil in their nature? Not to mention the notorious vices of Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, and the reſt of them, in what was their Jupiter, their Supreme, ſo pre-eminent as in his debaucheries?

‡ *Tam falſi fraviique tenax quam conſcia veri.* VIRG.

would by no means be accuſed of bearing falſe witneſs.]

You value your freedom of ſpeech at four *oboli* *, as the ſaying is. [But know you not, that Therſites, among the Greeks, was alſo a free-ſpeaker, and in return was chaſtiſed by the wiſe Ulyſſes with his ſceptre †? and that the drunkenneſs of Therſites was leſs regarded by Agamemnon than the flies in the proverb were by the tortoiſe ‡?]

What avails our reproaching others? We ſhould rather be irreproachable ourſelves. If you are ſo, convince me of it. [When you were young, you told fine ſtories of yourſelf to your elders. Theſe adventures, with the Electra of Euripides §, I paſs

* That is, at ever ſo high a rate. Suidas on Τετταρων ὀβολων, quoting this paſſage of Julian. FABRICIUS.

He quotes it, as uſual, without naming his author. An *obolus* was a ſmall Athenian coin of ſilver, weighing about twelve grains; in our money five farthings.

† Il. II. 199.

——— Cowering as the daſtard bends,
The weighty ſceptre on his back deſcends. POPE, 336.

‡ Suidas quotes theſe words from an author to me unknown, τω δε Αγαμεμνονι. κ. τ. λ. Flies cannot hurt a tortoiſe, on account of the ſhell with which it is furniſhed. Similar to this is, "an elephant does not regard a fly." It would be more pleaſant if applied to the mind. A mind fortified by virtue and philoſophy no more fears the attacks of fortune than "a tortoiſe flies." ERASMUS.

The paſſage above quoted by Suidas is this of Julian, which has been brought to light long ſince the time of Eraſmus. It is alſo quoted anonymouſly by Apoſtolius, in his Centur. XX. proverb. 66.

§ Eurip. Electr. ver. 946. 1122.

I never with the opening morn forbore
To breathe my ſilent plaints, &c. POTTER.

in ſilence. But when you became a man, and joined the army, you did, by Jove, juſt what you ſay of truth; it gave you offence, and you deſerted it. By how many witneſſes can I prove this, and thoſe not of the vulgar and abandoned, but ſome by whom you yourſelf were repulſed, who came to us from that neighbourhood?] To depart from princes in enmity, moſt ſagacious Dionyſius, is no proof either of courage or wiſdom. Much more would it become you to conciliate, by your intercourſe with mankind, their affections to us. But ſuch, by the Gods, will never be your conduct, nor that of thouſands more who are like-minded.

If rocks daſh againſt rocks, and ſtones againſt ſtones, inſtead of being ſerviceable to each other, the ſtrongeſt eaſily breaks the weakeſt. I ſay not this with Laconic brevity; for I think on your ſubject I ſeem more loquacious than the Attic graſshoppers *. For your drunken abuſe † of me, with the leave of the Gods, and powerful Nemeſis, I will inflict upon you a deſerved puniſhment. "To what purpoſe?" you ſay. [To reſtrain as much as poſſible your mind and tongue, and] to

* This is ſaid of a man immoderately talkative, or very muſical; becauſe this inſect, living only on dew, chiefly delights in ſinging. And Socrates, in the Phædron of Plato, relates that ſome who were ſo abſorbed by muſic that, neglecting their food, they were famiſhed, were changed by the Gods into graſshoppers. ERASMUS.

† See the Fragment (from Suidas) on Muſonius.

prevent your offending [in the leaſt] either by words or deeds; in ſhort, to diveſt your ſcurrilous tongue of ſo much ſlander. I well know that the ſandal even of Venus is ſaid to have been ridiculed by Momus *. But you ſee that Momus, though envious of all her beauties, could find nothing but her ſandal to depreciate. May you grow old, fretted, in like manner, with envy, more decrepid than Tithonus, more wealthy than Cinyras, and more effeminate than Sardanapalus, ſo as to verify the proverb, "Old men are twice children! †"

[But why does the divine Alexander ſeem to you ſo renowned? Why do you profeſs yourſelf his imitator and rival? Is it for that with which the youth Hermolaus ‡ reproached him? Of that no one is ſo ſilly as to ſuſpect you; but of the contrary, for which Hermolaus, grievouſly complaining, ſuffered ſtripes, and, it is ſaid, would have killed Alexander, there is no one who is not per-

* Viz. The creaking of it. See Philoſtrati Epiſt. XXI.

† On the word Καλαγηρασαι, Suidas has the above paragraph (not mentioned as a quotation from Julian) with this addition, "which is ſaid of thoſe who live long. For "Tithonus, being ſuperannuated, was, at his own deſire, "changed into a graſshopper. Cinyras, a deſcendant of "Pharnaces, king of Cyprus, was famous for his riches. "And Sardanapalus, the laſt king of Aſſyria, fell a victim "to intemperance and luxurious delights."

‡ "We conſpired to kill you," ſaid Hermolaus, "becauſe you have begun not to govern us as free-men, but "to tyranniſe over us as ſlaves." Q. Curtius.

ſuaded

ſuaded that you are guilty *. From many, by the Gods, who ſaid they had a great regard for you, I have heard ſeveral things advanced by way of extenuating this offence; and one there was who diſbelieved it. But he was a ſingle ſwallow, who does not make a ſpring †. Perhaps Alexander appears great to you, becauſe he cruelly ſlew Calliſthenes ‡; or becauſe Clitus ‡ fell a ſacrifice to his intemperance; and alſo Philotas ‡, and Parmenio ‡; whoſe ſon Hector was afterwards ſmothered in the whirlpools of the Ægyptian Nile, or of the Euphrates, for both have been mentioned §. I omit his other follies, that I may not ſeem to revile a man, who, though by no means diſtinguiſhed for virtue, was a moſt valiant and excellent commander. Of both which, virtue and

* Hermolaus, a noble youth, of the royal guards, for killing a boar, which the king had deſtined for his own ſpear, was by his command ſcourged; a diſgrace which he ſo bitterly reſented that he wept, and formed the abovementioned conſpiracy. Q. CURTIUS.

† See Eraſmi Chiliad. XCIV.

‡ The cruel deaths of this philoſopher and theſe generals are well known, and are related at large by Quintus Curtius. "One," ſaid Hermolaus, [Clitus] "ſprinkled "your table with his blood; another [Philotas] ſuffered "more than one kind of death. Parmenio was maſſacred "unheard, &c."

§ According to Curtius, as this youth, one of the few dear to Alexander, was attempting to follow him down the Nile, the ſmall veſſel in which he had embarked, being overloaded, ſunk. Hector, after long ſtruggling with the ſtream, at length reached the bank, but there, for want of aſſiſtance, periſhed. Of this, however, Alexander ſeems to have been innocent. Philotas was alſo a ſon of Parmenio.

valour, you have a leſs portion than fiſh have of hair. Now hear with calmneſs what I adviſe:

Not theſe, O daughter, are thy proper cares!
Thee milder arts befit, and ſofter wars *.

What follows, by the Gods, I am aſhamed to tranſcribe. I would have you, however, attend to it, ſince it is highly reaſonable that deeds ſhould follow words, and that one who has been remiſs in his deeds ſhould never ſtart at words. But you, who revere the ſhades of Magnentius and Conſtans, wage war with the living, and, in ſome way or other, aſperſe the beſt characters. Are the living leſs able to revenge affronts? This you will by no means think proper to affirm, be the confidence which you mention, whatever it may. Rejecting that plea, will you admit this, that you deride them becauſe they are inſenſible? Nor is this, I preſume, the true reaſon. For who among the living is ſo ſtupid, or puſillanimous, as to think your good opinion of the leaſt importance, and would not prefer being totally unknown to you, or, if that were impoſſible, would not rather chooſe to be reviled by you, as I am now, than honoured? I would by no means err ſo egregiouſly in my judgement as not to think your praiſes better than your reproaches. But even this, perhaps, that I am now writing to you, proves that I am hurt. By no means, I call the preſerving Gods to witneſs; I only wiſh to check the intolerable arrogance

* Il. V. 428. Pope, 519.

of

of this reviler, the petulance and prurience of his tongue, the frenzy of his mind, and his fury on all occaſions. If I were injured by you, I might by deeds, not words, have a legal remedy, as you, being a citizen, and of the ſenatorial rank, have diſobeyed the command of the Emperor. But for this there was no occaſion, nothing but the laſt extremity requiring it. I did not think proper therefore to ſubject you to any puniſhment, but rather choſe firſt at leaſt to write to you, hoping that a ſhort epiſtle might effect your cure. But as you perſevere in theſe crimes, or rather exhibit to the public the frenzy which was before concealed, let no one, for the future, think you a man, who are not a man, or miſtake the fury, which tranſports you, for courage, or ſuppoſe you to be learned who are an utter ſtranger to literature, as may eaſily be proved from your epiſtles.]

None of the ancients, for inſtance, ever uſed το φρουδον, to ſignify "manifeſt," * as you have, beſides many other blunders, in your letter. No one, in the longeſt diſcourſe, could expreſs your looſe and indecent behaviour, your ſelf-proſtitution. For you

* Φρουδον is rather αφανες, εκποδων, αφαντον. ("Far diſtant, obſcure.)". See Heſychius and Harpocratio. FABRICIUS.

† Among the flagrant crimes of which he accuſes Dionyſius, Julian here condeſcends to arraign his phraſeology, and, like a former Dionyſius, exchanges his ſceptre for a rod. Thus a miſtake in the meaning of a word, or in the graces of ſtyle, is put on a level with treachery and treaſon, and ſeems as unpardonable to this Imperial critic, as an offence againſt the graces of behaviour was to a late Britiſh peer.

you ſeduce, not only ſuch as are willing and forward, * * * * nor thoſe who hunt after public employments, but thoſe who, in conſequence of a ſound judgement, act right, [and therefore have been ſelected by us for their prompt obedience.

You make fair promiſes, though not by way of intreaty, or ſubmiſſion, if we will again employ you in ſome place of truſt. But ſo far is that from my intention, that when others have been admitted, I never ſent for you, as I have for many, known and unknown to me, of the inhabitants of that heaven-beloved city, Rome. Such value I ſet on your friendſhip; of ſuch attention I thought you worthy! I ſhall therefore act in the ſame manner probably for the future. And this epiſtle, which I am now writing, I intend, not only for your peruſal, but think it neceſſary to be communicated to many more. I will give it indeed to all, for all, I am perſuaded, will readily receive it; ſuch a general indignation your inſolence and arrogance have excited.

You have here a complete reply, ſo that you can deſire from us nothing farther. Nor do we wiſh any return from you. Make what uſe you pleaſe of our letters; for you have ſold our friendſhip. Farewell; amidſt your banquets abuſing me!]

peer. The above criticiſm is perfectly in the ſpirit of Bentley *verſus* Barnes. But Julian ſhould have recollected that this Roman wrote Greek in compliment to him.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LX. To Jamblichus.

YOU came, and acted. For you came, though abſent, by your letter. But, by the ardour of the friendſhip which I feel for you, I do not decline your love †, * * * nor in any reſpect deſert you, but, as if you were preſent, I view you with my mind, and am with you, though abſent, nor can any thing elſe give me complete ſatisfaction. You are never weary of obliging the preſent, and not only delighting, but preſerving the abſent by your writings. For being told that a friend was arrived with a letter from you, though I had been three days ill of a pain in my ſtomach, and was much indiſpoſed with a fever, yet hearing, as I ſaid, that a letter from you was at the gate, like one not maſter of himſelf and divinely inſpired, I ſprung up and ruſhed out to him before he could enter. But as ſoon as I had taken the letter into my hands, I ſwear by the Gods themſelves and that regard for you which inflames me, my pain at once abated, and the fever inſtantly fled, abaſhed, as it were, at the evident preſence of ſome tutelar deity. And when I had opened and read it, what, think you, were my ſenſations, or how great was my ſatisfaction, praiſing immoderately, and loving

† Imperfect.

the

the moſt friendly, as you ſtyle him, * * * * †, who is really deſerving of love, and the miniſter of good, for being inſtrumental in forwarding to me your letter, and conſigning it to me, like a bird, by a favourable and proſperous gale, which not only gave me the delight of hearing that your affairs were in a proper ſtate, but alſo recovered me from illneſs! As to other things, how ſhall I expreſs what I felt when I firſt read that epiſtle, or how can I ſufficiently demonſtrate my affection? How often did I turn back from the middle to the beginning! How much did I fear, leſt, when I had finiſhed it, I ſhould forget it! How often, as in the circuit and compaſs of a ſtanza, did I carry back the concluſion to the beginning, repeating at the cloſe, as in a muſical compoſition, that meaſure with which the ſong began! And what followed? How often did I apply the letter to my lips, as mothers kiſs their infants! How cloſely did I preſs it to my mouth, as if I had been embracing my deareſt miſtreſs! How frequently did I accoſt and kiſs even the ſuperſcription, which, as a well-known ſignature, you had written with your own hand; and then fixed my eyes upon it, rivetted, as it were, by the fingers of that ſacred hand on the traces of the letters?

† Imperfect. The name of the friend who forwarded the letter ſeems all that is wanting.

"Much

"Much ſalutation from us attend you!" as ſays the fair Sappho *; and, not only during our ſeparation, but fare you well always, not failing to write, and, as is fitting, to remember us! As to ourſelves, there will never be a time, there can never be an occaſion, there will never be a diſcourſe, in which we ſhall not remember you * * * *. And if Jupiter ſhall ever allow me to reviſit my native country, and again to enter your ſacred manſion, ſpare not the fugitive; but, as a deſerter from the Muſes, brought back from flight, bind him, if you pleaſe, to your delightful benches, and, when properly chaſtiſed, reprimand him. I will by no means decline the puniſhment, but will ſubmit to it voluntarily and chearfully; as to the provident and ſalutary correction of an indulgent father. But if you will permit me to pronounce my own ſentence, I will with pleaſure ſubmit to this; the being faſtened, my noble friend, to your veſt, ſo as never to be ſeparated from you, but cloſely to adhere to you, and every where to be carried about with you, as fables feign of double men; unleſs they ludicrouſly mean it as an alluſion to the excellence of friendſhip, expreſſing the congenial agreement of each ſoul in the bond of communion.

* Χαιρε δε και αυθις ημιν πολλα. This muſt be in ſome poem that is loſt.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXI. To the ſame.

I HAVE ſuffered, I confeſs, ſufficient puniſhment for my abſence from you, partly in the fatigues which I endured in my journey, but chiefly on account of my long ſeparation from you. Though I have every where met with a variety of accidents, ſo as to have left none unexperienced; though I have ſuſtained the tumults of battles, the diſtreſs of ſieges, the wanderings of flight, with terrors of every kind, and alſo the ſeverities of winter, the dangers of diſeaſes, and many and various other calamities from Upper Pannonia to the paſſage of the Chalcedonian ſtrait, I can truly ſay, that nothing has happened to me ſo grievous and perplexing, ſince my leaving the Eaſt, as my not having ſeen, for ſuch a length of time, you, the general bleſſing of the Greeks. Wonder not therefore, if I ſay, a kind of darkneſs and thick clouds hang over my eyes. For, in truth, the ſky will be ſerene, the light of the ſun more ſplendid, and a moſt beautiful ſpring of life will, as it were, be renewed to me, when I can embrace you, the great ornament of the world. Then, like a darling ſon, eſcaped from war, or returned from a long voyage, and reſtored unexpectedly to an excellent father, relating to you all my ſufferings, and the dangers that I have ſurmounted, and reſting, as on a ſacred

anchor, I ſhall find a ſufficient ſolace for my ſorrows. For calamities are conſoled, and ſufferings alleviated, by communication, and by the knowledge of our friends participated. Mean while I tender you my beſt ſervices, nor will I ever fail to write to you, and during the whole time of my abſence to ſend you ſuch epiſtolary tokens. If I can obtain the ſame from you, the peruſal of your letters, like an auſpicious omen, will abate my grief. Receive mine with complacence, and be more favourably diſpoſed to make a return. For whatever good you ſhall expreſs or communicate, I ſhall prefer to the eloquent voice of Mercury, and the ſkilful hand of Æſculapius.

Epiſtle LXII. †. To * * * * (Imperfect.)

* * * * * * * * *

SHOULD not the ſame indulgence, which is given to wooden blocks, be allowed to men ‡? For ſuppoſe that one inveſted with the prieſthood be unworthy, ſhould he not be ſpared, till, having aſcer-

† The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, were rather ſurpriſed than pleaſed with the introduction of foreign manners; and in the ſhort period of his reign, Julian had frequent occaſions to complain of the want of fervour of his own party. See Epiſtles LXII. and LXIII. GIBBON.

Many of the Epiſtles of Julian are the effuſions of private friendſhip; ſome are public Edicts; while others are juſtly

aſcertained the enormity of his offence, he can be removed from the miniſterial function, and deprived of the name of prieſt, injudiciouſly perhaps conferred upon him, and may be ſubjected alſo to cenſure, fine, and other puniſhments? If you underſtand not this, you cannot have even a ſuperficial knowledge of any thing; for how ignorant muſt you be of what is juſt and right, not to know the difference between a prieſt and a private man! And what muſt have been your temper, if you have beaten one to whom you ought to have riſen from your ſeat! Nothing can be more ſhameful, in you it is particularly unbecoming, in the ſight both of Gods and men. The biſhops and preſbyters of the Galileans perhaps aſſociate with you; and if not publickly, through fear of me, yet by ſtealth and

juſtly ſtyled by Mr. Gibbon "paſtoral letters," and are dictated by the Emperor as Sovereign Pontiff. In this pontifical character he addreſſes the Epiſtle, of which this fragment only is preſerved, to a Gentile prieſt, who, forgetting the nature of his ſpiritual warfare, had violently aſſaulted and beaten one of his brethren. As a Chriſtian Pontiff would have quoted St. Paul to Titus, *A biſhop muſt be no ſtriker*, this Gentile apoſtle appeals to the Didymæan oracle, and then pronounces a ſentence of ſuſpenſion.

‡ This paragraph is unintelligible, for want of that which precedes it. Julian perhaps had been ſpeaking of ſuch images of the Gods as were worn out and decayed, which he has mentioned alſo in his long Fragment. "If "any one," ſays he, "thinks, that, becauſe they have "been once called the images of the Gods, they can "never decay, he ſeems to me to have loſt his ſenſes. "For then they could not have been the workmanſhip of "men," &c.

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at home with your concurrence. But the prieſt has been beaten. Otherwiſe your pontiff would not have preferred ſuch a complaint againſt you. Paſſages from Homer you think fabulous; hear therefore the oracle of the Didymæan lord, and conſider whether he rightly admoniſhed the Greeks of old, and afterwards, in his diſcourſes, taught men to be wiſe and virtuous:

They, whom depravity and folly lead
To ſcorn the prieſts of heaven's immortal powers,
And to the wiſe intentions of the Gods
Their own vain thoughts contemptuouſly oppoſe,
In ſafety live not half their days, condemn'd
To periſh by th' eternal Gods, who deem
Their ſervants honour ſacred as their own *.

Not only thoſe, you ſee, who beat or inſult prieſts, but ſuch as deny them honour are [declared †] to be enemies to the Gods; ſo that he who beats them is guilty of ſacrilege. I therefore, as the Sovereign Pontiff of the religion of my country, having now obtained the præfecture of the Didymæan oracle, forbid you to interfere in any thing that relates to the prieſthood for three whole months. If, within that time, you ſhould appear deſerving, on my hearing from the chief-prieſt of your city, I will conſult the Gods whether you ſhall be reinſtated. To this puniſhment, which I inflict upon

* This paſſage has been quoted before, in the Duties of a Prieſt, p. 127.

† Some ſuch word is wanting in the original.

you for your rashness, the ancients used formerly to add, by words and in writing, the curses of the Gods. But of this I do not approve, as it never seems practised by the Gods. And in other respects, knowing that the priests are the ministers of our prayers, I join my hopes and prayers to yours, that by many and earnest intreaties you may obtain the pardon of the Gods.

Epistle LXIII. To the High-Priest Theodore *.

A. D. 361. THE Epistle that I have addressed to you differs from that which I have transmitted to others †, as I think your friendship for me superior to theirs. It is no inconsiderable circumstance, that we have

* This High-Priest Theodore was, as may be inferred from this Epistle, a zealous Pagan, the disciple of Maximus, who, like Julian, had been initiated by Maximus, and instructed, like that prince, in the principles of theurgy. This letter is inserted in the edition of F. Petau, but only in Greek. It had been copied from a MS. so defective, that it was not possible to translate it. M. Spanheim, from a MS. less imperfect, has given it, with a Latin version, which is not answerable to the reputation of that learned writer. La Bleterie.

† Julian had sent, without doubt, a circular letter to the Pagan pontiffs as soon as he was in peaceable possession of the empire. As this seems to have been written at the same time, I assign it to the year 361. *Ibid.*

Julian must then have been at Constantinople.

one

one common maſter, and you well remember *. . . . In a converſation that paſſed between us, a few evenings ago, it gave me great pleaſure to hear him expreſs the higheſt regard for you. In my friendſhips I am uſually very cautious. As for you, I had never ſeen you. Before we can love, we muſt know; and before we can know, we ſhould try. But a certain reaſon determined me †. I have therefore thought proper to rank you among my friends. And now I entruſt to you an affair very intereſting to me, and highly advantageous to all men. You will tranſact it, I doubt not, with propriety, which will afford me much joy here, and better hopes hereafter ‡. For I differ in opinion from thoſe who

* He intimates by half a word, and a myſterious air, what they ſaw, or thought they ſaw, when they were initiated by Maximus. LA BLETERIE.

† It is impoſſible to gueſs this reaſon; but we may partly diſcover, that, in the initiation of Theodore, ſomething happened which induced Julian to conclude that a man ſo agreeable to the Gods deſerved to be the miniſter and the aſſiſtant of the apoſtle of Paganiſm. *Ibid.*

‡ As this Epiſtle was not written to be ſhewn, it proves to what a degree Julian was fanatical and convinced of his falſe religion. It ſhews, at the ſame time, that he believed a providence, another life, and the immortality of the ſoul. He deteſted the materialiſts. In one of his works he ſpeaks with horror of Pyrrhoniſm, and of the doctrine of Epicurus. He thanks the Gods for having extinguiſhed thoſe ſects, and cauſed moſt of the books which contained their pernicious tenets to be deſtroyed. [See the Duties of a Prieſt, p. 134.] Probably the free-thinkers would not have triumphed in his reign. Why

who think that the soul perishes before or with the body *. We rely, however, on no man, but only on the Gods, as they only can be well acquainted with these things, or rather they alone necessarily know them. Men may form conjectures, but knowledge belongs to the Gods. The commission that I now give you is the superintendence of all the priests in Asia, both in the cities and in the country, with full powers to treat every one according to his deserts.

In a high-priest the principal requisite is moderation, together with kindness and benevolence to the deserving. As to those who are unjust or insolent to men, and irreligious to the Gods, let them be rebuked with boldness, or punished with severity. Whatever is necessary to be regulated in common, in order to render divine worship as perfect as possible, I will soon direct, with many other particulars. Some of them, in the mean time, I will here mention, in which it is right for you to

then should they defend him? But some common interests often serve to unite in appearance irreconcileable enemies. *And the same day they were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves.* Of this the affection which Julian testified for the Jews is a remarkable instance. *Ibid.*

* Those who believed the soul to be immortal, and even the materialists, distinguished in the soul the intellectual part, νους, and the sensitive part, ψυχη. There were some who imagined, no doubt, that the intellectual part was withdrawn, and others that it was destroyed, when they saw the body reduced to a mere animal life. *Ibid.*

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be adviſed by me. For on many of theſe ſubjects I ſpeak, as all the Gods know, with much premeditation. In circumſpection no one exceeds me, and I am an enemy, and have been ſo ſtyled, to all innovation, eſpecially in matters of religion, thinking it highly proper to adhere to our ancient paternal laws *, which were certainly given us by the Gods. They could not be ſo excellent, if they proceeded from men. But by the prevalence of riches and pleaſures they have been ſo neglected and corrupted, that they require, I think, a new foundation. Seeing therefore ſo great an indifference among us towards the Gods, and all ſenſe of religion baniſhed by debauched and luxurious manners, I have continually lamented in private.

* Paganiſm, in general, had no religious code, unleſs it were ſome pretended oracles, apparently very modern, as to the ceremonies which ought to be obſerved in ſacrifices, and the victims which were ſuitable to every kind of Gods. Euſebius quotes ſome paſſages of theſe oracles in the fourth book of his Evangelical Preparation. I imagine that the laws which Julian here mentions are principally the ancient rites of every nation, city, and temple. Theſe rites had in time ſuffered various alterations, and in the decline of Paganiſm ſome were aboliſhed.

Julian, deeply verſed in antiquity, was deſirous of reſtoring things to their former ſtate. As to the wiſdom quite divine which he admires in theſe rites, that is the work of his imagination. He conſiders them as ſymbolical. Being an ingenious and fruitful allegoriſt, by the force of arbitrary explanations he diſcovered ſome wonderful things in the worſhip, as well as in the hiſtory, of his Gods. To be convinced that he every where found all that he choſe, we need only read his diſcourſe "on the Mother of the Gods."

LA BLETERIE.

For thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed in the ſchool of impiety * are ſo zealous as to ſuffer want and famine rather than taſte ſwine's fleſh †, or that of any thing ſtrangled, or even killed by accident; while we are ſo regardleſs of the Gods as to forget the laws of our anceſtors, and not even to know whether any ſuch exiſt. But theſe men are in part only religious, as the God whom they worſhip is really moſt powerful, and moſt benevolent, and governs the viſible world ‡.

They therefore who do not tranſgreſs the laws ſeem to me to act right. I blame them only for

* Δυσσεβειας σχολη προσχονλας, "Thoſe who are attached "to the ſchool of impiety." I think that we ſhould read προεχονλας, "the chiefs, the principal teachers." The ſequel ſhews that this refers to the Jews. LA BLETERIE.

† This would only prove that Julian ſpeaks of the Jews. Indeed the Chriſtians, through reſpect for the Council of Jeruſalem, abſtained from blood and things ſtrangled longer than the reaſons ſubſiſted on which the prohibition was founded; and the Oriental Chriſtians continue to abſtain from them ſtill. But after God had revealed to St. Peter (Acts xv.) that the diſtinction of meats was abrogated, no Chriſtian ſcrupled eating ſwine's fleſh, except the Judaiſing Chriſtians, who were not tolerated till the ſecond deſtruction of the Jews, which happened under the Emperor Hadrian. *Ibid.*

‡ In the books of Julian againſt the Chriſtian religion, of which St. Cyril, in refuting them, has preſerved a conſiderable part, this prince ſays, in direct terms, that "he "worſhips the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob:" Αει προσκυνων τον Θεον Αβρααμ, και Ισαακ, και Ιακωβ. But it appears, in the ſame books, that he means, by this God, the *Demiurgus*; in which he is miſtaken if he makes the *Demiurgus*, or *Logos*, of a different nature from the BEING, το ον, τ'αγαθον. *Ibid.*

worſhip-

worſhipping God alone, and deſpiſing the worſhip of other Gods. Hurried into this frenzy by the pride of Barbarians *, they think that he is hidden from us Gentiles only. But from the Galilean impiety, like a peſtilential diſtemper † * * * *.

[*The remainder is wanting in the original.*]

* Whatever incenſe Julian gave the Jews in the Epiſtle which he wrote to them, this text, and many others, ſhew that he deſpiſed them. In general, what moſt prejudiced the Pagans againſt both the Chriſtian and Jewiſh religions, was their being excluſive and admitting no community with any other. But they endured the Jews with leſs impatience, and contented themſelves with deſpiſing them, becauſe the latter gained few proſelytes. The barrenneſs, with which the ſynagogue was ſtruck, made it find grace in the ſight of our common enemies; but the fertility of the church alarmed and enraged them. They foreſaw that ſhe would at length deſtroy their altars. Julian, in particular, kept good terms with the Jews, becauſe they entered into his plan, 1. By their implacable hatred to the Chriſtians; 2. from the deſign which he had formed to reſtore the nation and the temple, in order to falſify the ſcriptures. Beſides, the religion of the Jews ordained ſacrifices, and in this point of view was agreeable to Julian, who, as may be ſeen in his life and his works, had a taſte for bloody ſacrifices more worthy of a butcher than a philoſopher. LA BLETERIE.

† It is evident that Julian here launched forth againſt Chriſtianity and the Chriſtians; perhaps in a manner ſo atrocious as to ſhock the tranſcribers. *Ibid.*

Epiſtle LXIV. *. To the People †, clamorouſly applauding in the Tychæum, or Temple of Fortune.

A. D. 361. WHEN I enter the theatre, even privately, you may applaud; but in the temples be ſilent, and transfer your applauſes to the Gods. Praiſes are much more properly due to them.

* This Epiſtle was firſt publiſhed by Muratori, in his *Anecdota Græca*, from a MS. 700 years old, in the Ambroſian library, and is copied by Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*.

In the edition of Wolfius, it is the MCCXXth Epiſtle of Libanius. And the editor ſubjoins in a note, "I neither "underſtand what Libanius here means, nor the occaſion "on which he wrote this Epiſtle." Yet as Muratori and Fabricius had previouſly given it to Julian, I cannot account for its being there aſcribed to Libanius. Surely it ſeems much more characteriſtic of a prince than of a ſophiſt; and is beſides a ſubject, which Julian has diſcuſſed in the Miſopogon, Vol. I. p. 241, &c.

† Probably "of Conſtantinople." Fabricius inſcribes it *Byzantinis*, like Epiſtle XI. But ſee a note on that Epiſtle, p. 24.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXV. To a Painter *.

* Not being able to ſatisfy myſelf as to the meaning of the firſt part of this ſhort Epiſtle, I will add the original, with the Latin tranſlation of Muratori, by whom this alſo is preſerved:

Προς ζωγραφον.

Ει μεν μη ειχον, και εχαριτω μοι, γεγγνωμης πσθα αξιος. Ει δε ειχον μεν, εκ' εχρησαμην τε, τες Θεες εφερον, μαλλον δε υπο Θεων εφερομην. Συ μοι αλλοτριον σχημα πως εδιδες, εταιρε; Οιον με ειδες, τοιουτον και γραψον.

Ad Pictorem.

Siquidem non haberem, et mihi fuiſſes gratificatus, venia dignus eſſes. Sin autem haberem, neque uterer, Deos ferrem; imo potius, Dii me ferrent. Tu vero quare alienum mihi habitum dediſti, O amice? Qualem me vidiſti, talem etiam pingite.

The meaning of the two laſt paragraphs is ſufficiently clear. "But why, my friend, have you given me a foreign "dreſs? Paint me as you ſee me." The painter perhaps had drawn him, like a Roman Emperor, with a ſmall beard, and not like a Grecian Philoſopher, with a large one.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXVI. To ARSACES, Satrap of Armenia *.

A. D. 363. ARM, arm, Arſaces, againſt the furious Perſians, and haſten to join my forces, ſwift as thought. My martial preparations and determined reſolution have one of theſe ends in view; either

* The feeble Arſaces Tiranus, king of Armenia, had degenerated, ſtill more ſhamefully than his father Choſroes, from the many virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the puſillanimous monarch was averſe to any enterpriſe of danger and glory, he could diſguiſe his timid indolence by the more decent excuſes of religion and gratitude. He expreſſed a pious attachment to the memory of Conſtantius, from whoſe hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the deſtined wife of the emperor Conſtans, exalted the dignity of a Barbarian king. Tiranus profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; he reigned over a nation of Chriſtians; and he was reſtrained by every principle of conſcience and intereſt from contributing to the victory which would conſummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exaſperated by the indiſcretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as his ſlave, and as the enemy of the Gods. The haughty and threatening ſtyle of the Imperial mandates awakened the ſecret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating ſtate of dependence, was ſtill conſcious of his royal deſcent from the Arſacides, the lords of the Eaſt, and the rivals of the Roman power. GIBBON.

This Epiſtle, printed, for the firſt time, in the *Anecdota Græca* of M. Muratori, is inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Græca*, [*tom.* VII. *p.* 86.] of Fabricius. It is in very bad Greek, vulgar, brutal, meanly vain-glorious, without genius, contrary

either to pay the debt of nature, bravely fighting, and exerting my utmoſt efforts, if ſucceſs ſhould attend the Parthians; or, if the Gods ſhould aſſiſt me, to return triumphant, and to erect trophies

trary to policy; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, it contains expreſſions that could not proceed from the pen of a ſuperſtitious Pagan, at the eve of a great enterpriſe, and in circumſtances where the leaſt word of bad omen was ſcrupulouſly avoided, as capable of being fatal. Can it be ſuppoſed that Julian would have ventured to ſay, even by way of circumlocution, that "he was reſolved to periſh?" Would he have communicated the prediction that we find at the end of the Epiſtle? Whatever the illuſtrious M. Muratori may ſay of it, I can ſcarce believe that it is the ſame which Sozomen has mentioned; eſpecially as this does not contain all that the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian relates. I do not inſiſt on this laſt reaſon, becauſe it may be anſwered, that we have not the whole Epiſtle. But, after all, it is ſo ſtrange a piece, that, inſtead of aſcribing it to Julian, I would rather ſay, which is not neceſſary, that Sozomen was deceived by a ſpurious piece.

LA BLETERIE.

Muratori has publiſhed an Epiſtle from Julian to the Satrap Arſaces, fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen) moſt probably ſpurious. La Bleterie tranſlates and rejects it. GIBBON.

And ſo does the preſent tranſlator.

The paſſage of Sozomen, to which M. de la Bleterie refers, is as follows: "He wrote alſo to Arſaces, king of "the Armenians, an ally of the Romans, to join him in "the field. In this Epiſtle, after boaſting immoderately, "and extolling himſelf as fit to reign, and dear to the Gods "whom he worſhipped, and ſtigmatiſing Conſtantius as "puſillanimous and impious, he threatened Arſaces moſt "contumelioufly. And as he had heard that he was a "Chriſtian, in order to aggravate his reproaches, he ut"tered ſome wicked blaſphemies againſt Chriſt, with great "pride and oſtentation, ſignifying, that the God whom "he worſhipped would by no means defend him, if he "neglected his commands." *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* VI. *c.* I.

taken

taken from the enemy. Shake off therefore your inactivity, forego all evasions, and thinking no longer of that Constantine of happy memory *, or of the wealth of the nobles, which was lavished on you and other Barbarians, by the effeminate and too aged † Constantius, now cultivate the friendship of Julian, Sovereign Pontiff, Cæsar, Augustus, the servant of Mars and the Gods, the destroyer of the Franks and Barbarians, but the deliverer of the Gauls and Italians. If you have any other design, for I hear that you are very crafty, a bad soldier, a boaster, I shall not be surprised, as you now secrete a public enemy, trusting to the chance of war. To destroy the enemy, we need only the assistance of the Gods; but if Fate, whose decree is their will, should determine otherwise, I shall submit with fortitude and complacence. Know, however, that you, in consequence, will be subjected to the Persian power, your house and your whole family will be destroyed by fire, and the kingdom of

* Μακαρίτην εκεινον Κωνσταντινον, "That blessed Constantine." Julian would hardly have spoken so favourably of his uncle, the constant object of his hatred and ridicule. It appears by the conclusion of the Cæsars, p. 220, that he rather thought him cursed than "blessed."

† Πολυέλεος Κωνστάντιος, *annosi Constantii*. Constantius lived only 44 or 45 years. LA BLETERIE.

In like manner, Julian, in his 1st oration, styles Licinius "an old man," (γεροντα), at the battle of Cibalis in 314, though he was then not 50. M. de la Bleterie translates πολυέλεος "qui n'a vécu que trop long-tems" ("who had lived too "long.")

Armenia

Armenia subverted. The city of * Nisibis will also share your misfortunes. This the Gods revealed to us long ago.

Epistle LXVII. To the People [of Antioch †.]

SOME are so audacious as to prophane the sepulchres and consecrated graves of the dead, though to remove from them even a stone, or to dig the earth, and pull the turf, was always deemed by 12 Feb. 363.

* The bulwark of the East, given up to the Persians by Jovian, now reduced to 150 houses. See *Voyages de Niebuhr, tome* ii. *p.* 300—309.

Be this letter genuine, or not, "Arsaces," as M. de la Bleterie expresses it, "attentive only to his own interest, "and dissatisfied with Julian, would not leave his own "frontiers." This prince, in the reign of Valens, was treacherously seized, imprisoned, and put to death, by Sapor, king of Persia, as Ammianus relates, XXVII. 12.

† I take this law from the Theodosian Code, IX. XVII. 3. *tit. De sepulchris violatis.* It is the only piece of any length that is left of the Latinity of Julian. It is forcible and elaborate, but much less pure than his Greek. The reader perhaps will not dislike being enabled to judge for himself. The following is the whole Epistle.

IMP. JULIANUS A. AD POPULUM.

Pergit audacia ad busta diem functorum et aggeres consecratos; cùm et lapidem hinc movere, terram solicitare, et cespitem vellere, proximum sacrilegio majores semper habuerint. Sed ornamenta quidam triclinii, aut porticibus, auferunt de sepulchris. Quibus primis consulentes, ne in piaculum incidant contaminatâ religione bustorum, hoc fieri prohibemus pœnâ Manium vindice cohibentes.

Secundùm

by our anceſtors next to ſacrilege. Some take away the ornaments of tombs to adorn their porticoes or parlours. To prevent, in the firſt place, the criminal impiety of polluting ſepulchres, we prohibit it under pain of the puniſhment that is due to thoſe who offend the Manes *.

Secundum illud eſt, quod efferri cognovimus cadavera mortuorum per confertam populi frequentiam et per maximam inſiſtentium denſitatem, quod quidem oculos hominum infauſtis inceſtat aſpectibus. Qui enim dies eſt benè auſpicatus à funere? Aut quomodo ad Deos et templa venietur? Ideòque, quoniam et dolor in exequiis ſecretum amat, et diem functis nihil intereſt, utrùm per noctes, an per dies, efferantur, liberari convenit populi totius aſpectus; ut dolor eſſe in funeribus, non pompa exequiarum, nec oſtentatio, videatur.

Datum prid. id. Feb. Antiochiæ, Juliano Aug. IV. *et Salluſtio, Coſſ.* LA BLETERIE.

* The profanation of ſepulchres was conſidered in all times among the Romans as a kind of ſacrilege. Thoſe who dug up the body, or the bones, of a dead perſon were puniſhed with death, if they were of mean condition. They were confined in an iſland, if they were of genteel rank. Thoſe who deſtroyed a ſepulchre, or took any thing away from it, were condemned to the mines, or baniſhed. Conſtantine, in a law, whoſe object was to render divorces leſs frequent, and to make the Roman juriſprudence as to marriage again ſomewhat like the goſpel, by reſtraining divorce to certain caſes, ſpecifies, among the crimes which gave a woman a right to repudiate her huſband, murder, poiſoning, and the violation of tombs. *Si homicidam, vel medicamentarium vel ſepulchrorum diſſolutorem maritum ſuum eſſe probaverit.* III *Cod. Theod. tit.* XVI. *De repudiis.* But the reſpect for the dead, and their tombs, which nature herſelf ſeems to inſpire, was carried to an exceſs among the Pagans. They honoured the ſouls of the dead as divinities, and ſepulchres as temples.

The Chriſtian religion, which enlightened the world as to the fate of thoſe wretched divinities, and the impiety of the worſhip that was paid them, no ſooner became the religion

religion of the empire, than many individuals fell into an excefs oppofite to that of Paganifm. A zeal ill underftood, and, under the mafk of zeal, avarice, always ready to draw from the trueft principles falfe conclufions which favour it, deftroyed tombs, applied the ftones and ornaments to other ufes, and difperfed the afhes of the dead, in order to find fome valuable ftuffs, or trinkets, which fuperftition might have interred with them.

M. Muratori, in his *Anecdota Græca*, has inferted near eighty fhort copies of verfes compofed by St. Gregory Nazianzen, againft the violators of fepulchres. As feveral of them feem made in order to be engraved on the tombs of his friends, of whom the majority at leaft profeffed Chriftianity, we may infer that the tombs of the Chriftians were not fpared, were it only by the Pagans, who, without doubt, ufed reprifals. The law, above quoted, fhews what the Emperor Conftantine, long after his converfion, thought of thefe diforders, which not only outraged nature, but alfo might render Chriftianity odious, on whofe account they had become more common, though it had always condemned them. However, in the reign of Conftantine, the laws were not executed with rigour. It appears by a law of Conftans, that fome individuals, and even fome of the magiftrates, had violated them with impunity. He caufed a fearch to be made for the guilty: but he moderated the feverity of the ancient laws, and reduced it to pecuniary penalties. Conftantius renewed and even augmented it, as he fuffered the pecuniary penalties to remain, when he re-eftablifhed the punifhment of death. Other chriftian princes, particularly Valentinian III. exerted themfelves, in like manner, againft this crime.

Julian, who confidered the worfhip of the Manes as an eflential part of Hellenifm, here condemns from fuperftition what thofe princes condemned from a principle of humanity and Chriftianity, though fome Pagan expreffions have crept into their ordinances, which, without doubt, muft be afcribed to their fecretaries. The firft part of the law of Julian is in the Code of Juftinian, with fome alteration. That which favoured too much of Paganifm has been reformed. LA BLETTERIE.

If an ancient were to revifit the world, with what aftonifhment would he be ftruck in the amphitheatre of the Academy Royal, which no law authorifes to have dead bodies!

Secondly, we have heard that dead corpſes are carried to interment through large crowds of people and numerous ſpectators, a ſight, that defiles the eyes of men by its inauſpicious appearance. For what day is well-omened by a funeral? And how can we afterwards approach the Gods and the temples?

For theſe reaſons, and becauſe funereal grief loves privacy, and as it is of no conſequence to the deceaſed, whether they are interred by day or by night, it is proper that funerals ſhould be ſecreted from the public view, ſo as to be expreſſive of ſorrow, rather than of pomp and oſtentation *.

bodies! A corpſe was eſteemed by the ancients a ſacred object, which was reſpectfully placed under a funeral pile; and he who dared to lay hands on it was declared impure. What would he ſay on ſeeing that corpſe horribly cut and mangled; and all the young ſurgeons, with their arms ſtripped and bloody, joking and laughing amidſt thoſe dreadful operations! *Tableau de Paris.*

* Whatever reſpect the Pagans had for the dead, by a contradiction, of which I will not here trace the origin, they conſidered a human corpſe as the impureſt thing in the world. They thought they ought not to enter into a temple on a day when they had attended a funeral. But, delivered from a vain ſuperſtition, the Chriſtians, and perhaps ſome Pagans, after their example, paid the laſt duties to the dead in open day. Julian was deſirous of reviving the ancient practice, and even endeavoured to ſupport, by philoſophical ideas, the Pagan notions on which that practice was founded. This ſecond part of his law is in the Theodoſian Code, though it does not appear to have been obſerved after his death. LA BLETERIE.

Of the laws which Julian enacted in a ſhort reign of ſixteen months [Dec. 361—June 363.] fifty-four have been admitted into the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian. (*Gothofred. Chron. Legum. pp.* 64—67.) GIBBON.

Given at Antioch, on the day preceding the ides of February, Julian Aug. (for the IVth *time), and Salluſt being Conſuls.*

Epiſtle LXVIII. To LIBANIUS *.

YOU have made a proper return to Ariſtophanes † for his piety to the Gods, and his affection for you, by making what was formerly a diſgrace to him redound to his glory, not only A. D. 362.

* This Epiſtle was copied by the illuſtrious Roſtgaard from the Modeneſe MS. D. collated with the two Medicean E. and F. and is not to be found among thoſe which have been publiſhed, except, with many more, in the *Salutaris Lux Evangelii* of our Fabricius, p. 323. But it is here more enlarged. It is thus inſcribed: Ιελιανος Αυλοκρατωρ Λιβανιω τω Σοφιστη χαιρειν. WOLFIUS.

Libanius anſwers this Epiſtle (occaſioned by his oration in defence of Ariſtophanes) in his DCLXXth, which ſee Vol I. p. 317. The original of it is inſerted by Wolfius, in his notes on that Epiſtle.

Muratori obſerves that in one of the Ambroſian MSS. [at Milan] there was a ſhort Epiſtle of Julian, not yet publiſhed; "but," he adds, "the evaneſcent letters made me totally de- "ſpair of reading it. I hope, however, that it will ſome time "or other be publiſhed, together with ſome other remains "of the Apoſtate, by Frederick Roſtgaard, a noble Dane. "For when he was travelling through Italy, and collecting "the Epiſtles of Libanius from various MSS. in order to "give them to the public, he thought he had ſagacity "enough to decypher alſo this Ambroſian MS."

See the firſt note on the next Epiſtle.

† Meaning Ariſtophanes, a Corinthian, the ſon of Menander, for whom there is an oration of Libanius, in Vol. II. of Morell's edition, p. 210. FABRICIUS.

at preſent, but in future times; as the calumny of Paul *, and the ſentence of that judge †, can by no means be compared with your orations. For ſuch fiery proceedings were inſtantly deteſted, and, together with their authors, are now extinct; while your orations delight the true Greeks of the preſent age, and, unleſs I am much miſtaken, will alſo delight their poſterity.

Be aſſured, in ſhort, that you have convinced me, [or rather that you have induced me to retract my opinion of Ariſtophanes, and that I think him ſuperior to all the allurements both of profit and pleaſure. Can I refuſe to concur with the moſt philoſophical of orators, the greateſt partiſan of truth? After this, perhaps you may aſk, why we have not placed his affairs in a more proſperous

* This Paul, who pleaded for the informers againſt Ariſtophanes, before the Emperor Conſtantius, is mentioned in the ſame oration of Libanius, p. 222. FABRICIUS.

Julian has ſtigmatiſed Paul as a "notorious ſlanderer," in his Epiſtle to the Athenians, Vol. I. p. 92. See alſo Ammianus, XIX. and XXII. He was burnt alive, by the order of that prince, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire; a fate to which he ſeems to allude above by αιθυΐλα, ("fiery") and συναπεσβη. ("extinguiſhed together.") In Fabricius it is αιθυΐλα, ("at their firſt appearance.")

Libanius, in the oration above mentioned, ſays, in one place, "Ariſtophanes received many ſevere ſtripes from "balls of lead" [tied, probably, to ſtrings], "which "Paul thought fit inſtruments of death;" and in another, that "he had irritated Paul by ſome expreſſions ſuitable "indeed to him, but which it would have been better to "have ſuppreſſed."

† The Emperor Conſtantius. FABRICIUS.

ſtate, and removed every inconvenience attending his diſgrace.

When two their efforts join, &c. *.

You and I will confer together. For you are worthy to be conſulted, not only as to the propriety of aſſiſting a man who devoutly honours the Gods, but alſo in what manner, of which indeed you have given ſome hints. But of theſe matters it will be better perhaps to diſcourſe than to write. Farewell, my moſt dear and beloved brother †.]

* Συν τε δυ' ερχομενω, κ. τ. λ. Iliad X. 224.

An expreſſion of Diomed, enforcing the propriety of an aſſiſtant in his nightly expedition. The ſame meaning is conveyed by our Engliſh proverb, "Two heads are better "than one."

† This was immediately followed by Ανεγνων δε χθες τον λογον, κ. τ. λ. ("Reading yeſterday your oration, &c.") which is the XIVth Epiſtle of Julian [ſee p. 28.] publiſhed by Ezech. Spanheim, among his works, as a ſingle Epiſtle, and (as is very probable) totally unconnected with the former. WOLFIUS.

The concluding farewell is exactly the ſame with that of Epiſtle III. to Libanius alſo.

All that is between [ ] is only in the copy publiſhed by Wolfius.

Epiſtle LXIX *. To SOSIPATER †.

WHEN an opportunity offers of writing to our friends by a domeſtic, the pleaſure it affords is much augmented. For thus your letters convey to them ſomething more than a mere image of your mind. So fortunate am I at preſent. And therefore, as I was ſending to you Antiochus, the tutor of my ſons ‡, I could not omit this opportunity of informing you, that if you wiſh to have any intelligence concerning us, you may learn it particularly from him. And if you have a regard for your friends, and that you have ſome I am certain, when you have a ſimilar opportunity of writing, you will by no means neglect it.

* This, and the ſeven following Epiſtles (and alſo great part of the LIXth and LXVIIIth, as has been obſerved in the notes on each) were firſt publiſhed by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, 1731, with a Latin tranſlation. He was indebted for them, he ſays, to Count Chriſtian Danneſhiold de Samſoa (then lately deceaſed), who purchaſed them in 1726, together with many hundreds of unpubliſhed epiſtles of Libanius, at the public auction of the library of the "moſt "noble and learned Frederick Roſtgaard," having been tranſcribed by him in Italy, from the Vatican, Medicean, and Ambroſian libraries. See p. 193, note *.

† Or was it "to Sopater," the ſon-in-law of Jamblichus, who is frequently mentioned in the XXVIIth, XLth, and LIIId Epiſtles of Julian? FABRICIUS.

See p. 70, note †.

‡ This probably muſt be the perſon mentioned by the ſame appellation (Τροφεως των εμων παιδων) in Epiſtle XL. See p. 102. note †.

Epiſtle LXX. To Philip *.

WHILE I was Cæſar, the Gods can witneſs, I wrote to you, and, I think, more than once. Great certainly was the impulſe I felt, but many and various were my avocations; and, beſides, as the friendſhip between me and the bleſſed † Conſtantius, in conſequence of my advancement, was that of wolves, I was extremely cautious of writing to any one beyond the Alps, leſt I ſhould involve him in the greateſt difficulties. Conſider my writing to you now as a proof of my friendſhip, for frequently the tongue refuſes to correſpond with the heart. And ſubjects perhaps have reaſon to exult and glory in being able to ſhew the letters of princes, diſplaying them to the unexperienced, like rings to perſons unacquainted with A. D. 362.

* This ſeems to be the ſame to whom there are ſeveral Epiſtles of Libanius, in [one of] which he ſays, that the letters which he received from Philip were written "not "with ink, but with a Pegaſean liquor." Fabricius.

Libanius had two correſpondents of this name, one a præfect, whom he mentions in his Life, p. 25, and the other a poet.

It muſt have been written in the ſpring of 362, probably at Conſtantinople, when Julian was preparing to remove to Antioch.

† So Julian uſed to ſtyle Conſtantius, now dead, as he calls him μακαρίτης, in his XXXIſt and LVIIIth Epiſtles, and in his XXIIId, εκεινω μεν ω, επειδη μακαριτης εγενετο, κεφη γη. *Ibid.*

ſuch trinkets. True friendſhip is generally found between equals; but there is a ſecond kind, when one has a real, not a pretended, eſteem for the other, and though ſuperior in rank and genius, is loved for his good-nature, affability, and diſcretion. But ſuch epiſtles are apt to be filled with vanity and trifles. And I often reproach myſelf for making them too prolix, and being too loquacious, when I ſhould teach my tongue a Pythagorean ſilence.

I have received your preſents, a ſilver cup, a pound in weight, and a piece of gold coin. I am indeed deſirous, as you ſay in your letter, of having your company here. But now the ſpring approaches, the trees begin to bloſſom, and the ſwallows, though not yet expected, when they arrive, will expell us, engaged on a like expedition, from our houſes, and bid us remove to a diſtant country. Therefore, as we ſhall paſs near you, it will be better for you, if the Gods permit, to meet us in your own neighbourhood. This, I hope, will ſoon happen, unleſs ſomething providential prevents; which may the Gods avert!

Epiſtle LXXI. To EUTHERIUS *.

WE live, preſerved by the Gods †. Offer ſacrifices therefore to them in acknowledgement of my ſafety; but not for the ſafety of one individual only, but of all the Greeks ‡ in general. If you have leiſure to paſs over § to Conſtantinople, I ſhall think myſelf not a little honoured by your company. A. D. 361.

* To this Eutherius I have three Epiſtles of Libanius in MS. FABRICIUS.

There are ſix in the edition of Wolfius. Julian muſt have written this ſoon after his arrival at Conſtantinople in the winter of 361.

† Ζωμεν υπο των Θεων σωθεντες. On the ſame occaſion Julian uſes an expreſſion very ſimilar to this in his XIIIth Epiſtle, to his uncle: Ζωμεν δια τους Θεους. In the Latin of Fabricius it is miſprinted *Vicimus*.

‡ Meaning the Gentile worſhippers of idols. FABRICIUS.

§ This expreſſion (διαβηναι) ſhews, that Eutherius was then on the oppoſite ſide of the Boſphorus.

Epiſtle LXXII. To the PATRIARCH *.

THIS is the ſecond letter that I have ſent in favour of Amogila †, my former having been rendered ineffectual by the powerful influence of her oppreſſors. Lamenting therefore the fate of my former Epiſtle, pay due regard to this, and make it not neceſſary for us to write a third.

* Mention is made of Julus, the Patriarch of the Jews, whom he calls "moſt venerable," in the XXVth Epiſtle of Julian. FABRICIUS.

See p. 50.

This, as has been obſerved of the LXIVth Epiſtle, p. 184. has alſo, by miſtake, been aſcribed to Libanius, being printed in the edition of Wolfius, as the DCCCXXXVth of his Epiſtles. There are ſix more ſo inſcribed. But a MS. of one of them in the Vatican library has the addition of Ἀντιοχέων. This therefore, and all of them, were probably addreſſed, not to the Jewiſh Patriarch, as Fabricius ſuppoſes, but to the Chriſtian Patriarch of Antioch, who in the year 361 was Meletius.

† Ἀμαγιλης. In the copy (above mentioned) aſcribed to Libanius, the name is Ἀμμωνιλλης, ("Ammonilla.")

This is followed in Fabricius, by

"To ÆTIUS. (See p. 78.)

"Κοινως μεν απασι, &c. This, in the editions of Petau and "Ez. Spanheim, is the XXXIſt Epiſtle, p. 405, but inſtead "of Κοινως, ("in general,") we there read Λοιποις, ("the "reſt,") and then inſtead of the words μεχρι της γραλοπεδης "της ημων, ("as far as [my] camp,") there is only in the "Medicean MS. μεχρι της γραλοπεδης. This Epiſtle, by which "we find the biſhops, whom Conſtantius had baniſhed, "recalled by Julian, is mentioned by Sozomen, *l.* v. *c.* 5."

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXXIII. To Diogenes *.

AFTER your departure, Diogenes, your ſon came to me, and ſaid, you were angry with him, and as much enraged as a father could be with a ſon: he begged me therefore to intercede for him, and to reconcile you to him. If his offence be ſlight, and ſuch as may eaſily be forgiven, yield to nature, and, recollecting that you are a parent, reſtore your ſon to favour. But if it be ſuch as cannot be pardoned, you yourſelf are the beſt judge which is moſt expedient, to act generouſly on this occaſion, and to conquer the diſpoſition of your ſon by the beſt advice, or to truſt his amendment, and the reparation of his fault, to length of time.

* An Athenian philoſopher, to whom there are ſome Epiſtles of Libanius. Fabricius.

In one of them he acquaints Diogenes with the death and burial of his wife. He is alſo mentioned by Julian in his XXXVth Epiſtle. See p. 90. He was the uncle of Ariſtophanes, the Corinthian, mentioned p. 193.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXXIV. To Priscus *.

A. D. 362. ON receiving your letter, I immediately diſpatched Archelaus †, and gave him ſome epiſtles for you, with a paſſport, as you deſired, for a longer time. If you are inclined to ſpeculate the ocean, every thing, under God, will proſper to your wiſh, unleſs you dread the inelegance of the Galatians, or a ſtorm. But this will be as God ſhall think fit. I ſwear to you by him, who is to me the giver and preſerver of all good, that I wiſh to live only for the ſake of being uſeful to you. By you, I mean the true philoſophers; of whom convinced that you are one, you well know how much I have loved, and love you, and wiſh to ſee you. May divine Providence preſerve you in health many years, my moſt eſteemed and friendly brother! The excellent Hippia, and your children, I ſalute.

* The father of the præfect Anatolius. Fabricius. Anatolius was maſter of the offices, and was killed in the ſame ſkirmiſh in which Julian himſelf was mortally wounded. He would otherwiſe perhaps have ſucceeded that prince, as he himſelf is ſaid to have wiſhed. For an account of Priſcus, ſee p. 6. note †.

† To this Archelaus, as I ſuppoſe, Libanius has four Epiſtles, in one of which he expoſtulates with him for enviouſly burning ſome of his declamations.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXXV. To LIBANIUS, Sophiſt and Quæſtor *.

HOW fortunate was our diſappointment of a public carriage! For inſtead of the terror and apprehenſion attendant on ſuch a vehicle, where we meet with drunken muleteers, and mules, like thoſe in Homer, "pampered with barley †," ſuch are their idleneſs and repletion, and are annoyed with clouds of duſt and the intolerable diſſonance of clamorous drivers and ſmacking whips ‡, I now travel at my leiſure on a pleaſant ſhady road, abounding with fountains, and having many commodious inns, and when the hour of refreſhment arrives, I reſt wherever I pleaſe, beneath the ſpacious, fragrant boughs of the plane or cypreſs, with the Myrrhinuſian § Phædrus ||, or ſome other work of Plato, in my hands. As I thus enjoy an unembarraſſed journey, did I not communicate this pleaſure to you, my deareſt friend, I ſhould think myſelf inexcuſable.

* So ſtyled alſo in Epiſtle XXVIIth. But here, for a reaſon given below, I ſuſpect it to be an anachroniſm.

† Ακοστησασι. Iliad. VI. 506. xv. 263.

‡ The inconveniences of the public vehicles in thoſe days ſeem by this account very ſimilar to thoſe experienced in our times. Had Julian then been Emperor, or even Cæſar, all the public carriages, with their motions, would have been at his command.

§ Of Myrrhinus in Attica. FABRICIUS.

|| The book of Plato ſo inſcribed, from his ſcholar of that name.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle LXXVI. To the Philoſopher EUCLID*.

WHEN did you leave us, that we muſt write to you? or when do we not view you, as if you were ſtill preſent, with the eyes of our mind, ſeeming not only to be conſtantly enjoying your company and converſation, but alſo taking the ſame care of your affairs as when you were here? If, however, you would have me write to you as to one who is abſent, conſider whether this requeſt does not prove that you are really abſent. Be that as it may, if it gratifies you, even in this we readily obey you. Indeed, according to the proverb, you will ſpur to the field a free horſe. See then that you make a ſimilar return, and fail not to be punctual in your replies. Though I am unwilling to interrupt your labours for the public good, yet, as I obſerve that you purſue what is excellent, far from offending I ſhall ſeem to render an eſſential ſervice to all Greece by diſmiſſing you unmoleſted, like a generous hound, to track learning through all her paths, through every footſtep †. If you have ſuch alacrity as neither to neglect your friends, nor to diſcontinue theſe purſuits, haſte, and exert yourſelf in both thoſe courſes.

* I do not recollect that this philoſopher is elſewhere mentioned, either by Julian or Libanius. An Eucladius occurs in the DCLXXIIId Epiſtle of the latter.

† Βημάλι, otherwiſe Αημμάλι, ("argument.") FABRICIUS.

Epiſtola

Epiſtola LXXVII *. Ad PHOTINUM †.

TU quidem, O Photine, veriſimilis videris et proximus ſalvare, benefaciens nequaquam in utero inducere quem credidiſti Deum. Diodorus ‡ autem Nazaræi magus ejus pigmentalibus mangoneis acuens irrationabilitatem acutus apparuit ſophiſta religionis agreſtis. * * * * Quod ſi nobis opitulati fuerint dii, et deæ, et muſæ omnes, et fortuna, oſtendemus infirmum et corruptorem le-

* This Epiſtle, mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, p. 310. is preſerved by Facundus, biſhop of Hermania in Africa, in his book dedicated to the Emperor Juſtinian, in defence of the "three chapters," as they were called, which were the writings of Theodore of Mopſueſtia, Theodoret of Cyprus, and Ibas of Edeſſa, againſt all which Juſtinian had publiſhed an edict, A. D. 544. See Moſheim, I. 299. It was printed by Sirmond, at Paris, 1629, 8vo; and from that edition, p. 163, this letter is extracted.

This letter of Julian, if not written originally in Latin, ſeems to have been tranſlated in a very bombaſt ſtyle. He here threatens his work againſt the Chriſtians. I will not give it in Engliſh.

† Photinus, biſhop of Sirmium, publiſhed, in the year 343, his opinions concerning the deity, which were equally repugnant to the orthodox and Arian ſyſtems. His temerity was chaſtiſed, not only by the orthodox in the councils of Antioch and Milan, held in the years 345 and 347, and in that of Sirmium, whoſe date is uncertain, but alſo by the Arians, in one of their aſſemblies held at Sirmium, in the year 351. In conſequence of all this, Photinus was degraded from the epiſcopal dignity, and died in exile in the year 372. MOSHEIM.

For his extravagant notions ſee vol. I. of this hiſtorian, 223.

‡ Of Antioch, biſhop of Tarſus, an orthodox prelate. See Moſheim, I. 188, and Moreri, article *Diodore d' Antioche*.

Im,

gum, et rationum, et myſteriorum paganorum, et deorum infernorum, et illum novum ejus deum Galilæum quem æternum fabulosè prædicat indignâ morte et ſepulturâ denudatum confictæ a Diodoro deitatis! Iſte enim malo communis utilitatis Athenas navigans, et philoſophans, imprudenter muſicorum participatus eſt rationem, et rhetoricis confectionibus odibilem adarmavit linguam adverſus cæleſtes deos uſque adeo ignorans paganorum myſteria omnemque miſerabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piſcatorum errorem. Propter quod jam diu eſt quod ab ipſis punitur diis. Jam enim per multos annos in periculum converſus, et in corruptionem thoracis incidens, ad ſummum pervenit ſupplicium. Omne ejus corpus conſumptum eſt: nam malæ ejus conciderunt, rugæ vero in altitudinem corporis deſcenderunt, quod non eſt philoſophicæ converſationis indicio, ſicut videri vult a ſe deceptis, ſed juſtitiæ pro certo deorumque pœnæ quâ percutitur competenti ratione uſque ad noviſſimum vitæ ſuæ finem aſperam et amaram vitam vivens et faciem pallore confectum.

FRAG-

FRAGMENTS

OF

EPISTLES OF JULIAN,

Tranſlated from SUIDAS.

Article AMPHION.

....FOR you have leiſure, you have excellent natural endowments, and, if any one ever had, a love for philoſophy. Theſe three united were ſufficient to render Amphion the inventor of ancient muſic *; namely, time, divine inſpiration, and the love of harmony. The want of inſtruments cannot be any impediment to theſe; and he who is poſſeſſed of theſe three will eaſily find thoſe. Have we not heard that Amphion not only invented muſic, but alſo the harp, either by the wonderful powers of his genius, or ſome divine aſſiſtance, or ſome unuſual co-operation? And moſt of the ancients, by principally attending to theſe three, ſeem to have philoſophiſed without diſguiſe, and to have required nothing elſe.

* The lute, on which Amphion played ſo harmoniouſly as to bring together the ſtones with which the tower of Thebes was built, is ſaid by others to have been preſented to him by Mercury. Some ſuppoſe that there were two Amphions, and that the younger, called the Dircæan, from the river Dirce, in Bœotia, was the muſician and the inventor of muſic.

Article

Article HERODOTUS.

WHO is ignorant of what the Æthiopians ſaid of the moſt nouriſhing food we have? On taſting ſome of our bread, "they wondered", they ſaid, "how we could live upon dung," if we may credit the Thurian hiſtorian *. Thoſe who have treated on the various climates of the earth alſo relate that there are nations of men who feed on fiſh and fleſh, and never, even in a dream, ſaw ſuch diet as ours. If any one of them ſhould attempt to adopt our mode of living, he would fare no better than thoſe who ſwallow hellebore or hemlock.

* Herodotus, ſo called from Thurium in Magna Græcia, where he lived and died. Julian gives him the ſame appellation in Epiſtle XXII. The paſſage to which he here alludes is in the IIId book of that hiſtorian, and is part of the enquiry which the Æthiopians made of the *Ichthyophagi*, or "fiſh-eaters," whom Cambyſes ſent to explore that country. Their king, they ſaid, lived upon bread, explaining the nature of wheat, and that eighty years was the longeſt period propoſed by a Perſian. The Æthiopian anſwered, "I do not wonder, as you live upon dung, that "you are ſo ſhort-lived; and, were it not for this "beverage (wine), you would not live ſo long."

This extraordinary perſon was born at Halicarnaſſus, a Grecian colony in the leſſer Aſia, not long before the invaſion of Greece by the armies of Xerxes. In his youth he retired from his native city to Samos, in order to avoid the arbitrary proceedings of Lygdamis, the grandſon of the famous Artemiſia, who acquitted herſelf with much honour in the naval engagement of Salamis. There he formed himſelf upon the dialect of Ionia, and compiled his hiſtory

hiſtory, which begins with Candaules and Cyrus, and comes down to the battle of Mycale, towards the latter end of the reign of Xerxes, a period of 120 years. In the mean time he ſpared no pains to inform himſelf of all that was neceſſary, in the beſt manner which he could. To this end he travelled into Ægypt, ſurveyed its chief towns, converſed with the prieſts of Thebes and Memphis, and penetrated into the principles of their religion and learning, as far as his own ſagacity could carry him, and their recluſeneſs would permit him. He travelled through the ſeveral diſtricts and republics of Greece, ſaw the principal cities of Aſia, and viſited the borders of Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia. Returning, however, after a long voluntary exile, into his own country, he bore a conſiderable ſhare in the expulſion of the tyrant; but meeting with envy from his fellow-citizens, inſtead of that gratitude which he expected as the juſt reward of his ſervices, he went to Athens, and after about a twelvemonth's ſtay there, departed into Italy with a colony of Athenians, to build a city called Thurium (hence the above appellation) near the ruins of the ancient Sybaris. As ſoon as he had drawn up his hiſtory from the materials he had collected with ſuch infinite diligence and induſtry, he determined to expoſe it to the judgement of all Greece. It happened, that during his reſidence at Athens, beſides the feaſt of Panathenæa where he read his work aloud, the Olympian exerciſes were performed, to which the Grecians reſorted in general from each ſtate, and thus he had a very favourable opportunity of putting his deſign into execution. Many of his auditors had, no doubt, been perſonally engaged in ſome of the battles againſt Xerxes and Mardonius, and not one of them could be unacquainted with the principal facts of a war, ſo honourable to Greece, and ſo inglorious to Perſia. In the midſt of this aſſembly he declared, that "he appeared be-"fore them not ſo much a ſpectator of their games, as a "competitor for the prize of reputation;" and recited his work publickly a ſecond time with univerſal applauſe. Of this nothing can be a greater teſtimony than that the names of the nine Muſes have been given to the nine books of his hiſtory, as if the compoſition were above the ſtandard of humanity, and the joint labour of thoſe celebrated divinities.

Article MUSONIUS *.

THE drunken abuſe, with which the commander in Greece † has loaded me, you have borne with ſerenity, thinking that it did not in the leaſt concern you. As to your earneſt deſire to be ſerviceable to the city in which you reſide, that is a certain proof of a philoſophical mind. The firſt ſeems to me ſuitable to Socrates, the ſecond to Muſonius. He ſaid that it was wrong for a good man to ſuffer himſelf to be injured by the wicked ‡. For he had the ſuperintendence of the towers when he was baniſhed by Nero.

* For an account of Muſonius, ſee the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, Vol. I. p. 25. note ||.

† This poſſibly might be Dionyſius, whoſe "drunken "abuſe" Julian mentions in Epiſtle LIX. p. 165. The words in the original are ſimilar, παροινιαν and πεπαρωνηκας.

‡ Though I have literally tranſlated this paſſage, I do not clearly apprehend its meaning, or its connection with what follows.

Article

Article XPHMA.

. . . OUR journey lay through the Hercynian foreſt *. There I ſaw a moſt wonderful ſight (χρημα, ξξαισιον). I can confidently aſſure you, that you have never ſeen the like, though I know that there are many of the kind in the Roman dominions. But let any one think of the inacceſſible Theſſalian Tempe, or of Thermopylæ †, or of ſteep and extenſive Taurus ‡; and all theſe will ſeem inſignificant when compared in ruggedneſs with the Hercynian foreſt. A. D. 357.

* This ſeems alſo to be ſtyled the Hercynian foreſt by Zoſimus, *l.* III. It is at preſent called *der Speſſard*, formerly a part of the Hercynian foreſt, and is on the left bank of the Mayne, not far from the confluence of the Rhine and Moſelle, as Cluverius ſays, *l.* III. *c.* 7.

VALOIS.

In Cæſar's time this foreſt extended from the country of the Rauraci (Baſil) into the boundleſs regions of the North. Julian mentions his being "ſent into the Her-" cynian foreſt when he had ſcarce arrived at manhood," in the Miſopogon, p. 275; and Ammianus, XVII. I. where it is ſtyled *ſylvam ſqualore tenebrarum horrendam.*

† Straits between the mountains of Theſſaly and Phocis, which divide Greece, famous for the defence of Leonidas againſt the Perſians.

‡ The higheſt and moſt extenſive mountains in Aſia.

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N. B. Those translated by M. de la Bleterie are marked with Arabic figures, which shew the chronological order in which he has endeavoured (as far as he could) to arrange them. Gallus to Julian, and Julian to Themistius, are his two first. And those to the Athenians and Constantius he has omitted.

THE LIFE OF LIBANIUS, the Sophist.

From the Latin

Of John Albert Fabricius, D. D. *

LIBANIUS was born of an ancient and noble family at Antioch, on the Orontes, in the year of our Lord 314. Suidas calls his father "Phasganius;" but this was the name of one of his uncles †; the other, who was the elder, was named Panolbius. His great grandfather, who excelled in the art of divination, had published some pieces in Latin, which occasioned his being supposed by some, but falsly, to be an Italian. His maternal and paternal grandfathers were eminent in rank and in eloquence; the latter, with his brother Brasidas, was put to death, by the order of

* In his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 378.

† Libanius, in his Life (which he says, p. 19, he wrote when he was sixty), vol. II. p. 6. and 40, and *Orat.* XXIV. p. 534. He mentions, p. 46. that he attained his fiftieth year under Jovian; and, p. 48, his fifty-seventh under Valens. Fabricius.

Diocletian,

Diocletian, in the year 303, after the tumult of the tyrant Eugenius. Libanius, of his father's three sons the second, in the fifteenth year of his age, wishing to devote himself entirely to literature, complains that he met with some "shadows "of sophists." Then, assisted by a proper master *, he began to read the ancient writers at Antioch, and from thence, with Jason, a Cappadocian, went to Athens, and residing there for more than four years became intimately acquainted with Crispinus of Heraclea, who, he says, enriched him afterwards with books at Nicomedia, and went, but seldom, to the schools of Diophantus. At Constantinople he ingratiated himself with Nicocles of Lacedæmon (a grammarian, who was master to the Emperor Julian), and the sophist Bemarchius. Returning to Athens, and soliciting the office of a professor, which the proconsul had before intended for him when he was twenty-five years of age, a certain Cappadocian happened to be preferred to him. But being encouraged by Dionysius, a Sicilian, who had been præfect of Syria, some specimens of his eloquence, that were published at Constantinople, made him so generally known and applauded, that he collected more than eighty disciples, the two sophists, who then filled the chair there, raging in vain, and Bemarchius ineffectually opposing him in rival orations, and when he could not excell him, having recourse to

* This was probably the same whom Libanius freed from the resentment of the Emperor Constantius, as he relates, p. 34. FABRICIUS.

the frigid calumny of magic. At length, about the year 346, being expelled the city by his competitors *, the præfect Limenius concurring, he repaired to Nice, and soon after to Nicomedia, the Athens of Bithynia, where his excellence in speaking began to be more and more approved by all, and Julian, if not a hearer, was a reader and admirer of his orations. In the same city, he says, he was particularly delighted with the friendship of Aristænetus †, and the five years, which he passed there, he styles "the spring, or any thing else that "can be conceived pleasanter than spring, of his "whole life." Being invited again to Constantinople, and afterwards returning to Nicomedia, being also tired of Constantinople, where he found Phœnix and Zenobius, rival sophists, though he was patronised by Strategius, who succeeded Domitian as præfect of the East, not daring, on account of his rivals, to occupy the Athenian chair, he obtained permission from Gallus Cæsar to visit, for four months, his native city Antioch, where, after Gallus was killed in 354, he fixed his residence for the remainder of his life, and initiated many

* The jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit.

GIBBON.

† The death of this Aristænetus, præfect of Bithynia, who was overwhelmed at Nicomedia by an earthquake in 358, he laments, p. 40, and in his XXIXth and XXXIst Epistles. See also the following Monody.

in the ſacred rites of eloquence. He was alſo much beloved by the Emperor Julian, who heard his diſcourſes with pleaſure *, received him with kindneſs, and imitated him in his writings. Honoured by that prince with the rank of quæſtor †, and with ſeveral Epiſtles [of which ſix only are extant ‡], the laſt § written by the Emperor during his fatal expedition againſt the Perſians, he the more lamented his death in the flower of his age, as from him he had promiſed himſelf a certain and laſting ſupport both in the worſhip of idols and in his own ſtudies. There was afterwards a report that Libanius, with the younger Jamblichus, the maſter of Proclus, enquired by divination who would be the ſucceſſor of Valens ‖, and in conſequence with difficulty

* Fabricius corrects this miſtake in his *Lux Evangelii*.

† See p. 65.

‡ Viz. the IIId, XIVth, XXVIIth, XLIVth, LXVIIIth, and LXXVth.

§ The XXVIIth.

‖ In the year 373, or 374, whilſt Valens was at Antioch, a diſcovery was made of a conſultation which ſome Gentiles had together for finding out the name of the perſon who ſhould ſucceed the Emperor. There are accounts of it in ſeveral of our Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and in divers Heathen authors, particularly Ammianus Marcellinus, who is the fulleſt of all, and was then in the Eaſt, and poſſibly at Antioch. The confeſſions made by Patritius and Hilary, both ſkilful diviners, he thus particularly relates:

" A tripod made of laurel was artificially prepared, and " conſecrated with certain preſcribed ſecret charms and " invocations. It was then placed in the middle of a " room, perfumed with Arabian ſpices. The charger, on " which it was ſet, had on its utmoſt brim the four and " twenty letters of the alphabet, nearly engraved, and ſet " at due diſtances from each other. Then a perſon, clad

" in

" in linen veſtments, with linen ſocks upon his feet, and " a ſuitable covering upon his head, came in with laurel " branches in his hands, and, after ſome myſtic charms " performed, ſhook a ring, hanging at a curtain, about " the edge of the charger; which jumping up and down, " fell upon ſome letters of the alphabet, where it ſeemed " to ſtay; the prieſt alſo then compoſing certain heroic " verſes in anſwer to the queſtions that had been propoſed. " The letters, which the ring pointed out in this caſe, were " four, Θ, Ε, Ο, Δ, which being put together, one that " was preſent immediately exclaimed, that the oracle " plainly intended Theodorus" [then ſecond in the ſecretaries office], " nor did we make any farther enquiries, " being all well ſatisfied that he was the perſon intended, " though himſelf was totally ignorant of this proceeding."

Cave's Tranſlation.

Zonaras gives a different account of the method of divination then made uſe of. He ſays, " that the four and " twenty letters of the alphabet were written upon the " ground, and at each one was placed a grain of wheat or " barley. Then, after ſome myſtic forms, a cock * was let " cut, which picked up ſuch grains as lay at thoſe four " letters." But it is much more reaſonable to rely upon Ammianus, who was contemporary, and likely to be well informed. His account alſo is agreeable to that in Sozomen and Zoſimus, who have both mentioned the tripod.

When Libanius ſays, that " Valens hoped to have had " him alſo accuſed as one of the conſpirators," I take it to be a mere flouriſh. He was willing to make a merit of ſome danger with the reſt of his friends, though really he was ſafe enough. LARDNER.

For this conſultation and divination many were put to death, viz. Simonides and Maximus, philoſophers, the latter the friend and perverter of Julian, Diogenes, who had been præfect of Bithynia, and Theodorus, the perſon named, perhaps with many more who owned the fatal ſyllables. Theodoſius ſucceeded. Alypius too (ſee p. 73.) who had been vice-prefect of Britain, was condemned, but only baniſhed; and his ſon Hierocles, when he was leading to execution, was happily ſaved, it is ſuppoſed, by a tumult of the people.

* To this method Fabricius plainly alludes by the word *alectryomania*.

The

difficulty eſcaped his cruelty *, Irenæus atteſting the innocence of Libanius. In like manner he happily eſcaped another calumny, by the favour of Duke Lupicinus, when he was accuſed by his enemy Fidelis, or Fiduſtius, of having written an elogium on the tyrant Procopius †. He was not, however, totally neglected by Valens, whom he not only celebrated in an oration, but ob-

The inquiſition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was ſo rigorouſly proſecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal ſymptom, either of the diſpleaſure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind. Lardner has copiouſly and fairly examined this dark tranſaction. GIBBON.

* That future events may be conjectured by the motions of the ſtars Libanius does not deny, in an Epiſtle [the XIVth of Zambicari, *l.* I.] to Euſtolius. That he alſo ſtudied the interpretation of dreams may be deduced from Vol. II. of his works, p. 74. FABRICIUS.

† Procopius, a relation of the Emperor Julian, who had haſtily promoted him, from the obſcure ſtation of a tribune and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Meſopotamia, retired, after the death of that prince, to his ample patrimony in Cappadocia. But being ſuſpected and ordered to be apprehended by the new ſovereigns Valentinian and Valens, A. D. 365, he eſcaped from his guards, paſſed over to the country of Boſphorus, and, after remaining many months in that ſequeſtered region, embarked for Conſtantinople, and aſſumed the ſovereignty. Being joined by ſome Gallic ſoldiers, whoſe numbers rapidly increaſed, he ſubdued the unarmed provinces of Bithynia and Aſia, the city and iſland of Cyzicus, &c. but being at laſt deſerted by his troops, in two engagements, after wandering ſome time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his deſponding followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beheaded.

Abridged from GIBBON.

tained

tained from him a confirmation of the law againſt entirely excluding illegimitate children from the inheritance of their paternal eſtates, which he ſolicited from the Emperor, no doubt, for a private reaſon, ſince, as Eunapius informs us, he kept a miſtreſs *, and was never married. The remainder of his life he paſſed, as before-mentioned, at Antioch, to an advanced age, amidſt various wrongs and oppreſſions from his rivals and the times, which he copiouſly relates in his Life, though, tired of the manners of that city, he had thoughts, in his old age, of changing his abode, as he tells Euſebius in his DLIVth Epiſtle [edit. Wolf.] He continued there, however, and on various occaſions was very ſerviceable to the city, either by appeaſing ſeditions, and calming the diſturbed minds of the citizens, or by reconciling to them the Emperors Julian and Theodoſius. That Libanius lived even to the reign of Arcadius, that is, beyond the ſeventieth year of his age, the learned collect from his oration on Lucian and the teſtimony of Cedrenus; and of the ſame opinion is Godfrey Olearius, a man not more reſpectable for his exquiſite knowledge of ſacred and polite literature, than for his judgement and probity, in his MS. prælections, in

* He laments her death, and mentions a ſon, whom he had by her, in his Life, p. 82. and in ſeveral of his Epiſtles. In others it appears that his name was Cimon; that his father ſent him to ſtudy at Athens, and that he died before him.

which,

which, when he was professor of both languages in the university of his own country, he has given an account of the life of this sophist.

The writings of Libanius * are numerous, and he composed and delivered various orations, as well demonstrative as deliberative, and also many fictitious declamations and disputations. Of these Frederick Morell † published as many as he could collect in two volumes, folio, in Greek and Latin. In the 1st vol. Paris, 1606, are XIII. Exercises (*Progymnasmata*)

* The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. GIBBON.

† The Latin translation of Morell has been observed by many of the learned to be often obscure, and in numberless places to have mistaken the sense of Libanius. Whoever therefore shall undertake another edition of this author, must new translate many passages, especially in the IId volume. It is said, nevertheless, that Morell applied to his version with such intense application, as not to suffe himself to be interrupted by an account that his wife was at the point of death, if we credit Isaac Vossius, in Colomesius, p. 99. of his works: "I have heard from M. "Vossius, that while Frederick Morell was employed on "Libanius, some one came to inform him that his wife "was very ill:" to which he replied, "I have only three "or four sentences more to translate, and then I will go "and see her." Another coming to tell him that she was dying; "I have only two words," said he, "I will be "there as soon as you." At last, being informed that his wife was dead, "I was very happy," he answered coldly, "she was an excellent woman." FABRICIUS.

gymnaſmata) XLIV Declamations *, and 111 moral diſſertations, and in the 11d vol. Paris, 1627, are the Life † of Libanius, and xxxvi other orations, moſt of them long and on ſerious ſubjects.

Beſides what are contained in thoſe volumes, and his Epiſtles, ten other works of this ſophiſt have been ſeparately publiſhed, moſt of them orations ‡, and in the *Excerpta Rhetorum* of Leo Allatius,

* That his Declamations were "poſſeſſed, read, and "thought worthy of being imitated by many," appears from an Epiſtle of Libanius to Archelaus [XLIVth of Zambicari, *l.* 1.], who, from envy, had committed ſome of them to the flames. Eraſmus (I. 550.) has tranſlated the 1ſt of them, the "oration of Menelaus," which Morell has adopted *verbatim*, without acknowledgment, (I. 189.) his name being prefixed as the tranſlator of them all.

† Libanius has compoſed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life, of which Eunapius (p. 130—135.) has left a conciſe and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont, Fabricius, and Lardner have illuſtrated the character and writings of this famous ſophiſt.

GIBBON.

‡ Of theſe, as of all the others, Fabricius has given the titles and ſubjects. The Vth of them, "an oration "for the Temples," that they may not be deſtroyed, to Theodoſius the Great, 390, firſt publiſhed by Godefroi, Geneva, 1634, 4to. is tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Lardner, in his Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, Vol. IV. p. 137—158, with Obſervations. The VIth, "On reveng-"ing the death of the Emperor Julian," addreſſed to the ſame Theodoſius, 379, was firſt publiſhed, from the Bodleian MS. by Olearius above-mentioned, Leipſic, 1701, 8vo. to which he afterwards added a Latin tranſlation, and learned notes, at the deſire of Fabricius, which he publiſhed, in Bibliotheca Græca, Vol. VII. p. 145—179, with the original, and alſo with the VIIth, "To thoſe who "called him troubleſome," 373; and the VIIIth, "To "the Antiochians, on appeaſing the reſentment of the "Emperor"

Allatius, Greek and Latin, Rom. 1641, 8vo. are XXXIX Narrations, VII Deſcriptions, and VII more Exerciſes of Libanius, with tranſlations by Allatius. His unpubliſhed works are,

1. Many hundred Epiſtles * yet concealed in various libraries, a mode of writing in which it appears he excelled by the teſtimony even of the ancients, particularly Eunapius and Photius; and of that the peruſal of them will eaſily convince the intelligent reader; for they abound with Attic wit and humour, and every where recommend themſelves by their pointed conciſeneſs no leſs than by their elegance and learning †.

2. Several

"Emperor" [Julian], 363, both for the firſt time, and a correct copy of the "funeral oration on Julian," with tranſlations of them all by the ſame Olearius.

* Eleven years after Fabricius printed the above, John Chriſtopher Wolfius, his pupil, friend, and collegue, aſſiſted by the collections of Frederick Roſtgaard, a noble Dane, (ſee p. 196.) publiſhed at Hamburgh, in one volume, folio, 1738, with learned notes, MDCV Epiſtles of Libanius, in Greek and Latin, two-thirds of them collected from various MSS. to which he added DXXII Epiſtles of the ſame author, in Latin only (XC of them duplicates, being alſo in the Greek), tranſlated from the originals, collected in Greece, and publiſhed at Cracow, about the middle of the XVth century, by Francis Zambicari of Bologna, and republiſhed there by John Sommerfeld, M. A. 1504. See Vol. I. p. 330, note *.

† The critics may praiſe their ſubtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Diſſertation upon Phalaris, p. 487.) might juſtly, though quaintly, obſerve, that "you feel by "the emptineſs and deadneſs of them, that you converſe "with ſome dreaming pedant, with his elbow upon his "deſk." GIBBON.

2. Several Orations, as in a MS. of the Barberini library, of excellent character, moſt correctly written on vellum, from which Allatius aſſerts *, that all the publiſhed works of Libanius might alſo be given much more correct and perfect.

3. Various Declamations, in the above MS. and one in the Vatican library.

And that there are many MS Epiſtles, Orations, and Declamations of Libanius in the Imperial library [at Vienna], Neſſelius has obſerved, affirming alſo that ſeveral Greek ſcholia are frequently inſerted in the margin.

Though ſo many of the writings of this ſophiſt are preſerved, there is no doubt that many both of his Epiſtles and Orations have been loſt †.

The MDLXXIVth Epiſtle of Libanius occurs among thoſe of Phalaris, and is inſcribed to Antimathius, n. XXVII.

It is thought at preſent by almoſt all the learned, Bentley, the prince of critics (*viro κριτικωτάτῳ*) at their head, that theſe Epiſtles of Phalaris may juſtly be aſcribed to ſome ſophiſt. It may be worth while to conſider whether all of them perhaps were not fabricated by Libanius. I recollect, at leaſt, that in my notes I have frequently compared the phraſes and expreſſions of Phalaris with thoſe of Libanius. See, for inſtance, the notes on Ep. MCXLI. WOLFIUS.

* *Præf. ad Excerpta Rhetorum Græcorum.*

† Of XI of theſe, mentioned by Libanius himſelf in different parts of his works, Fabricius recapitulates the titles, beſides various Counſels (*συμβουλαὶ* ‡) to the Emperor Theodoſius, mentioned in the beginning of his oration for the temples of the Heathens. And many more, which Fabricius has omitted, might be ſpecified from ſeveral of his epiſtles.

‡ Tranſlated by Dr. Lardner, "Orations, and the counſel delivered in them."

A MONODY

A MONODY * by LIBANIUS,

On NICOMEDIA,

Deſtroyed by an Earthquake †.

HOMER never ſuffers even a tree to periſh without commiſeration; but, as if he himſelf had been the planter or gardener, when he ſees it ſtretched on the ground, he ſings a lamentation A. D. 358.

* A mournful ſong, recited by one only on the ſtage, without a chorus, was called Μονῳδία. And mention is made of a *Monodiaria*, or of a woman who ſung a monody. WOLFIUS.

Libanius, in his XXXIſt Epiſtle, mentions two Monodies which he compoſed on this occaſion; one (which is now before us) relating to the city, the other, no doubt, to Ariſtænetus, Præfect of Bithynia, who periſhed in it (ſee the next note); but the latter is loſt. "I alſo," ſays he, (Ep. xxv.) "am one of thoſe who are overwhelmed by "that great calamity. For Ariſtænetus, O Jupiter, has "periſhed; and, beſides this, we have ſuffered another "ſtroke, as fate has not ſpared the head of Hierocles."

All the ancients ſpeak of Nicomedia as a place of great note: Pliny calls it "a famous and beautiful city:" Ammianus, "the mother of all the cities of Bithynia." In this city the Roman emperors reſided, when the affairs of the empire called them into the eaſt. Conſtantine the Great choſe Nicomedia for the place of his abode after he retired from Rome, and there remained till the buildings that he had begun at Byzantium were finiſhed. This city, once ſo famous, is now but a ſmall village, known to the Turks by the name of Schemith ‡. UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

‡ According to Pococke, Iſmit.

† At break of day, on the 9th of the calends of September, the ſky, which before was clear, was obſcured by thick dark clouds; and the light of the ſun being veiled, neither near nor contiguous objects were diſcernible. Then the Supreme Deity throwing, as it were, fatal thunder-bolts, and removing the winds from their very hinges ‡, the fury of the ſtorm abated; and to theſe hurricanes and whirlwinds ſucceeded an horrible earthquake, which totally overthrew the city and ſuburbs. And on account of the declivity of the hills, ſome houſes fell upon others, all reſounding with the dreadful craſh of the ruins. Mean time the lofty roofs re-echoed with various cries of thoſe who were ſeeking their wives and children, or deareſt friends. After the ſecond hour, but long before the third, the ſky, now fair and clear, diſcovered the funereal carnage. For ſome, cruſhed by the overwhelming force of falling rafters, periſhed under the weight of them: ſome, buried up to the neck, though they might have ſurvived if they had had timely aſſiſtance, died for want of help; others hung fixed to the tops of ſtanding beams; many men were killed a little before by one blow; then were ſeen promiſcuous ſlaughtered bodies; ſome, the roofs of their houſes falling in, were confined unhurt, victims to anguiſh and famine. Among whom Ariſtænetus, who governed the dioceſe lately deſired with vicarial power, to which Conſtantius, in honour of his wife, had given the name of the Euſebian Piety ||, by this calamity, long tortured, expired. Others, cruſhed by ſudden bulky ruins, are ſtill covered by the ſame heaps. Some, who had their ſculls fractured, or had loſt their arms or legs, between life and death, imploring with earneſt intreaties thoſe who were aſſiſting others, were deſerted. And the greater part of the inhabitants might have ſurvived the ſacred and private buildings, had not flames, widely diſperſed, for fifty days and nights, conſumed whatever was combuſtible.

AMMIANUS.

See alſo an Epiſtle on this ſubject from Libanius to Julian, Vol. I. p. 303.

‡ *Ventoſque ab iſſis excitante cardinibus.*
Not unlike to this are Milton's "winds," that
——— ruſh'd abroad
From the four hinges of the world. *Par. Reg.* IV. 409.

|| After the example of the Julian Piety, a name given to Pola in Iſtria (of which ſee Plin. l. III. c. 19.) LINDENBROG.

over it *. And can I permit Nicomedia, where I increaſed my knowledge of the liberal arts, eſpecially eloquence, and acquired, beſides, a degree of reputation which I had not before, to be deſtroyed, can I ſee ſuch a city, a city no longer, reduced to aſhes, unmourned, unwept? This concern I ſhare in common with the vulgar; let her alſo participate of the oratory which ſhe cheriſhed. As, if I had been a muſician, and had gained many victories there in muſical conteſts, ſhould I have ſuffered others to lament without joining in the lamentation?

Let me now addreſs the Gods, ſuppoſing them preſent, and thus endeavour to eſtimate our calamity.

When, ſitting in the palace of Jupiter, with the other Gods, you, O Neptune, were enraged on account of the wall which the Grecians had built

* Homer deplores the deſtruction of plants in Iliad IX and XVIII. MORELL.

——— a monſtrous boar,
That levell'd harveſts, and whole foreſts tore.
POPE, IX. 659.

Much more expreſſive in the original.

In the XVIIIth I find a plant, or a tree, mentioned only thus,

Like ſome fair olive, by my careful hand
He grew, he flouriſh'd, and adorn d the land.
POPE, 175 and 512.

If Libanius had been acquainted with the Pſalmiſt, and unprejudiced by Paganiſm, he could not have overlooked that beautiful alluſion of the "vine brought out of "Ægypt," and the complaint of its being "rooted up, "burnt, and cut down." Pſ. LXXX. 8—16.

at Troy to cover their ſhips, was not their neglect of the Gods, when they laid the foundation, the principal ſubject of your complaint *? And therefore, when Troy was taken, you judged right in thinking it neceſſary to deſtroy that wall; which you eaſily accompliſhed by turning againſt it the rivers that ruſhed from Ida †. But in the foundation of this city what was the offence that induced you to treat it in the ſame manner? Did not its firſt founder ‡, deſigning to build a city on the ſhore

* Hom. Il. VII. 450.

See the long walls extending to the main,
No God conſulted, and no victim ſlain, &c. POPE, 535.

† Ibid. XII. 17.

Then Neptune and Apollo ſhook the ſhore,
Then Ida's ſummits pour'd their watery ſtore;
Rheſus and Rhodius then unite their rills, &c.

. . . . . .

Theſe, turn'd by Phœbus from their wonted ways,
Delug'd the rampire nine continual days;
The weight of waters ſaps the yielding wall,
And to the ſea the floating bulwarks fall.
Inceſſant cataracts the Thunderer pours,
And half the ſkies deſcend in fluicy ſhowers, &c.
POPE, 15.

This is a noble paſſage in the old bard; ſtorm, inundation, and earthquake magnificently combined. B.

Milton alludes to it in his viſion of the Deluge, b. XI.

——— ——— Then ſhall this mount
Of Paradiſe, by might of waves, be mov'd
Out of his place, puſh'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure ſpoil'd, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf,
And there take root, an iſland ſalt and bare,
The haunt of ſeals, and orcs, and ſea-mews' clang. 829.

‡ Nicomedia is ſaid to have been firſt built by Olbia, and had its firſt name from him. It was afterwards re-built

5 by

ſhore oppoſite to that where it now ſtands, or rather where it once ſtood, begin his work from you? Were not the altars covered with victims, and ſurrounded by a crowd of worſhippers? But by an eagle and a prodigious ſnake you diverted their attention to the hill; of theſe, the former with her talons ſnatched the head of the victim from the fire; and the latter, large and reſembling thoſe which are bred in India, iſſued from the earth. The one cleaving the ſea, and the other the air, repaired to the brow of the hill. The people followed, led, as they thought, by the guidance of the Gods. Theſe omens were all deceitful. The city was at firſt overwhelmed by the torrent of war *. Be it ſo. Your own Corinth † alſo, and the land of

by Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, though Olbia ſeems rather to have been near it, and that the inhabitants of it were tranſplanted to this place. POCOCKE.

Nicomedia, Aſtacus, and Olbia are ſpoken of by Ptolemy as three neighbouring but diſtinct cities. Strabo writes that Nicomedes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Zipœtes, deſtroyed Aſtacus, and transferred its inhabitants to Nicomedia. UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

* This muſt probably have been in the reign of Nicomedes III. who was twice driven from his throne by Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus.

† Among other names which Corinth anciently had we find that of Heliopolis, or city of the ſun, for which this reaſon is commonly given; that the poets feign Apollo and Neptune to have contended for it, and that Jupiter having appointed Briareus, the Cyclop, their umpire, he adjudged the Iſthmus to the latter, and the Promontory, which commands the city, to the former. UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Cecrops *, your beſt beloved, have experienced the ſame fate †. Another founder came, who, making the Gods his principal leaders, and, by the ſuperior magnitude of his offering, rendering your minds more propitious, reſtored the city. How then, like the land of Ætolia, for the offence of Œneus ‡, did ſhe deſerve to be puniſhed with contempt? Is it right, has it been uſual, for the Gods to deſtroy with their own hands works like theſe, in which they have co-operated with mortals, and to imitate the paſtime of children, who are accuſtomed to pull down what they have erected §? Or did it become you, O Neptune, to enter into a conteſt with your niece for an Attic city not then in being, and to overflow a citadel ſo diſtant from

* An Ægyptian fugitive, who introduced religion into Greece, and founded the Athenian monarchy. See note * p 233.

† Corinth was ſurpriſed by Antigonus and Aratus, taken and burnt by the Romans, &c. Athens was deſtroyed by Mardonius, taken by the Lacedæmonians and Sylla, &c.

‡ Oeneus, king of Ætolia, or Calydon (its chief city) ſacrificing to the reſt of the deities, neglected his duty to Diana, who in conſequence ſent a wild boar to ravage and deſtroy the country, which was killed by his ſon Meleager, and his company. See Hom. Il. IX. 530.

§ Thus Tibullus, ——— *puer è virgis extruet arte caſas.* l. II. el. 1.

And Horace of a boy, ——— *amata relinquere pernix.* MORELL.

Libanius had here, no doubt, in his view that paſſage in the Iliad to which Julian alſo refers in his XLIth Epiſtle. See p. 106.

the

the sea *, yet to display no regard for such a great and important city as this, but even to subvert it from the foundations? What city was more beautiful? I will not say larger, for in size it was exceeded by four †, but contemned all that increase of extent, which would have wearied the feet of its citizens ‡. In beauty also it yielded to these, and was equalled, not excelled, by some others: for, stretching forth its promontories, with its arms

* Cecrops not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree, and a fountain of water (or, as others say, a horse) appeared. The oracle, being consulted, answered, that "Neptune and Minerva were contending "for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift "of Minerva, and the fountain (or horse) that of Nep-"tune; and that that which they esteemed most benefi-"cial to mankind should adjudge the prize to the giver." The men and women being assembled to give their judgement, the former gave it for the God; but the women, who were more numerous, gave it for the Goddess; and the city was named from her *Athena*. Neptune, in revenge of the affront, overflowed their territories. APOLLODORUS.

Here we have an account of the Ροθιον mentioned by Libanius, which Morell has rendered *Procella*, though it signifies properly "the violence and force of water, a billow "of the sea:" as, in the poem on Hero and Leander, the poet says, he stood on the shore,

Μαινομενων ροθιων πολυηχεα βομβον ακουων·

where βομβον excellently expresses the heavy sound occasioned by the fall of the waves. B.

† Rome, Byzantium, Antioch, and Alexandria.

‡ Τοσουτον αλιμασασα τω μεγεθει, οσον εμελλε λυπησειν των οικητορων τους ποδας. This is an odd passage, and seems to me a puerile conceit. Morell's marginal reading, ισ. παιδας (for ποδας) is pleasant enough. I wonder he should think any alteration necessary, as he understood the true sense of the place; for men may be fatigued as well as children. I have no doubt that he was a great walker. B.

it

it embraced the ſea. It then aſcended the hill by four colonnades extending the whole length. Its public buildings were ſplendid, its private contiguous, riſing from the loweſt parts to the citadel, like the branches of a cypreſs, one houſe above another, watered by rivulets, and ſurrounded with gardens *. Its council-chambers, its ſchools of oratory, the multitude of its temples, the magnificence of its baths, and the commodiouſneſs of its harbour I have ſeen, but cannot deſcribe. This only I can ſay, that, frequently travelling thither from Nice †, we uſed on the road to diſcourſe on the trees, and the ſoil, abundant in all productions, and alſo of our families, our friends, and ancient wiſdom. But after we had paſſed through the intricate windings of the hills, when the city appeared, at the diſtance of a hundred and fifty ſtadia ‡, on all other ſubjects a profound ſilence inſtantly enſued, and, no longer engaged either by the towering branches of the gardens, or by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, or by

* In like manner, Dr. Pococke deſcribes the preſent town as "ſituated at the foot of two hills, and all up the ſouth "ſide of the weſtern one, which is very high, and on part "of the other: it is near the N. E. corner of the bay. All "the houſes have ſmall gardens, or courts, to them, eſpe-"cially thoſe on the hills. The gardens are planted with "trees §, and the vines, being carried along on frames built "like roofs, make the city appear exceedingly beautiful. "There are very few remains of the ancient Nicomedia."

† Thirty-two miles. POCOCKE.

‡ About nineteen miles.

§ Κηποι αιωρεμενοι τοις κλαδοις are the words of Libanius.

the

the traffic of the ſea, our whole converſation turned on Nicomedia. And yet mariners, or thoſe who labour at the oar, and enſnare the fiſh with nets, or hooks, naturally attract the obſervation of travellers. But the form of the city, much more faſcinating, by its beauty tyranniſed over our eyes, and fixed their whole attention on itſelf. Similar were the ſenſations of him who had never ſeen it before, and of him who had grown old within its walls. One ſhewed to his companion the palace, glittering over the bay; another the theatre embelliſhing the whole city; others various other rays darted from various objects: which ſurpaſſed it was difficult to determine. Revering it as a ſacred image, we proceeded; in our way to Chalcedon, it was neceſſary to turn, till the nature of the road deprived us of the ſight *. This ſeemed like the ceſſation of a feaſt.

A city ſo great, ſo renowned, ought not the whole choir of the Gods to have ſurrounded and protected, exhorting each other to decree that it ſhould never be ſubjected to any calamity? But now ſome of you have deceived, others have deſerted, and none aſſiſted her. And all theſe particulars, which I have mentioned, once were, but remain no longer. What a beautiful lock has For-

* He firſt mentions the pleaſure ariſing from the proſpect of the city, as they approached; and then their concern at loſing ſight of it, as they proceeded from it to Chalcedon. B.

tune

tune now ſevered from the world *! How has ſhe blinded the other continent by thus bereaving it of its illuſtrious eye! What a deplorable deformity has ſhe diffuſed over Aſia; as if her moſt ſpacious grove had been felled, as if her moſt conſpicuous feature † had been lopped off! O moſt injurious earthquake, why didſt thou perpetrate this? O departed city! O name of it in vain remaining! O grief diſperſed over land and ſea! O dire intelligence, diſtreſsful to the hearts of all ranks, of all ages! for what heart is ſo ſtony, what heart is ſo adamantine, as not to be wounded by this relation? who is ſo deſtitute of tears as now to with-hold them? O dreadful misfortune, which has reduced the innumerable ornaments of the city to one ruinous heap! O unpropitious ray ‡, what a city didſt

* Thus Pindar ſtyles Ætna "the front," or forehead, "of the fruitful earth," ευκαρποιο γαιας μέλωπον, Pyth. I. and Nicomedia was a beautiful city "high-mounted on a "hill," as Sandys ſays of ſome other. I am afraid the hill of Nicomedia hardly deſerved the name μέλωπον γαιας; but a panegyriſt may make mountains of molehills. B.

† Βοτρυχος, οφθαλμος, what next? αλσος, ειν ("The lock, "the eye, the *grove*, the noſe.") In the name of propriety, what has αλσος to do here? Are we to underſtand it of the hair of the head? B.

This idea ſeems anticipated by βοτρυχος. The metaphor indeed ſeems here loſt, "a grove," or "wood," being no feature, like the others. Pin. ſeemed in Engliſh to require a circumlocution.

‡ Ω δυσυχης ακλινος, οιαν μεν προσεβαλλε την πολιν ανασχουσα· οιαν δε αφεισα καλεδυ. Morell tranſlates ακλινος *tridentis radius*. But why ſhould it not mean (as uſual) the "ſun's ray?" Ανεχω and καλαδυω are uſed for the "riſing and ſetting of the ſun."

didſt thou ſmite at thy riſing, what a city ſunk with thee! The day had almoſt advanced to noon *; the tutelar deities of the city abandoned the temples, and ſhe was left like a ſhip deſerted by its crew. The lord of the trident ſhook the earth, and convulſed the ocean; the foundations of the city were diſunited; walls were thrown on walls, pillars on pillars, and roofs fell headlong. What was hidden was revealed, and what had appeared was hidden. Statues, perfect in beauty, and complete in every part, were blended by the concuſſion in one confuſed maſs. Artificers, working at their trades, were daſhed out of their ſhops and houſes. In the harbour was much deſtruction, and alſo of many worthy choſen men collected about the Præfect †. The theatre involved in its ruins all who

ſun." I do not recollect that αλιν is uſed abſolutely, as here, for the "prong of the trident." The trident too is thruſt under the foundation. See the beginning of the Phœniſſæ of Euripides, where Jocaſta, addreſſing the Sun, complains of his darting an "unpropitious ray" on Thebes. Ηλιε, θοαις ιπποισιν, κ. τ. λ.

O thou, that glorying in thy fiery ſteeds,
Rolleſt the orient light, reſplendent Sun,
How inauſpicious didſt thou dart thy beams
That day on Thebes, &c. POTTER. Poſſibly Libanius may allude to it. B.

* Μικρον μεν απειχεν ημερα περι πληθουσαν αγοραν ειναι.

Literally, "it was near high market." But Ammianus ſays, that it happened at break of day; and George Cedrenus, in the night.

† Ariſtænetus, the great friend and patron of Libanius, who, in ſeveral of his epiſtles to him, celebrates his eloquence and ſweetneſs of manners. See p. 227. note *. He was afterwards buried at Nice, of which he was a native.

were

were in it. Some buildings, which had long ſtood tottering, and others which had yet eſcaped, with all who were in them, ſhared at laſt the general fate. The ſea, violently agitated, deluged the land. Fire, which abounded every where, ſeizing the rafters, added to the concuſſion a conflagration *; and ſome wind, it is ſaid, fanned the flames. Much of the city, much of the ramparts, ſtill remains. Of thoſe who have eſcaped, a few ſtill wander about wounded.

O all-ſeeing Sun, what were thy ſenſations on ſeeing this? Why didſt not thou prevent ſuch a city from leaving the earth? For the oxen profaned by the famiſhed mariners † ſuch was thy reſentment as to threaten the celeſtial powers that thou wouldſt give thyſelf up to Pluto ‡; but for the glory of the earth, for the labour of many kings, for the fruit of prodigious coſt, deſtroyed in the day-time, thou haſt no compaſſion.

O faireſt of cities, on what a faithleſs and froward hill didſt thou fix thy ſeat; which, like a vicious horſe, has diſmounted its excellent rider? Where are now thy winding walks? where are thy

* Thus at Liſbon, Meſſina, and in all great earthquakes, fire has been their conſtant attendant.

† Hom. Odyſſ. xii. Libanius has before taken Neptune to taſk; he here reprimands Apollo.

‡ Alluding to what Apollo ſays on that occaſion in the ſame book of the Odyſſey.

" Vengeance, ye Gods, or I the ſkies forego,
" And bear the lamp of heaven to ſhades below."

POPE, 450.

por-

porticoes? where are thy courſes, thy fountains, thy courts of judicature, thy libraries, thy temples? Where is all that profuſion of wealth? Where are the young, the old? Where are the baths of the Graces and of the Nymphs? of which the largeſt, named after the prince, at whoſe expence it was built, was equal in value to the whole city *. Where is now the ſenate? Where are the people? where the women? the children? where is the palace? where is the circus †, ſtronger than the walls of Babylon ‡? Nothing is left ſtanding; nothing has eſcaped; all are involved in one common ruin.

O numerous ſtreams, where now do you flow? what manſions do you lave? from what ſprings do you iſſue? The various aqueducts and reſervoirs are broken. The plentiful ſupply of the fountains runs to waſte, either forming whirlpools, or ſtagnating in moraſſes; but drawn or quaffed by no one, neither by men nor birds. Theſe are terrified

* As Diocletian, according to Lactantius, embelliſhed Nicomedia with a great number of ſtately buildings, with a deſign of equalling it to Rome, poſſibly theſe baths might be part of them, and named after him, as we know his baths, now magnificent in ruins, were at Rome; which, ſays Ammianus, with no ſmall exaggeration, "ſeemed rather a "province than a building."

† He [Diocletian] built there ſeveral baſilics, a circus, a mint, an arſenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his ſon. LACTANTIUS.

‡ The walls of Babylon were ſo celebrated among the ancients as to grow proverbial. Libanius mentions them in like manner in his CXCVIth Epiſtle.

by

by the fire which rages every where below, and, where it has a vent, flames into the air. This city, once so populous, now in the day-time is deserted and desolate, but at night is possessed by such a multitude of spectres, as I think must crowd the inhabitants of the infernal regions after they have passed Acheron.

Celebrated of old were the disasters of Lemnos *, and the Iliad sings the woes of Troy. Their remembrance will be slighted, but the excess of our calamities any one may hence determine. Former earthquakes, though they destroyed some parts of the city, spared others; but this has overwhelmed the whole. Other cities have also perished, but never one of such a magnitude. If it had been deprived only of bodies infected with the plague, or of those persons who, contrary to the laws †, were celebrating

* Great misfortunes were proverbially styled "Lemnian;" some say, from the slaughter of the Attic women, and the children which they had by them, by the Pelagians, who inhabited Lemnos; others, from the murder of their husbands, on account of their offensive breath, by the Lemnian women. See Ludolph Kuster on Suidas, tom. II. p. 441. Bayle's Dictionary, vol. II. p. 1780. and Erasmus, in his Chiliades. WOLFIUS.

Libanius, in his XXIVth Epistle, thus alludes to this passage; "I said little when I expressed the ruin of Ni-"comedia by the misfortunes of Lemnos."

† Καλα νομον. It seems a little hard that people should be destroyed for sacrificing "according to law;" yet καλα νομον is certainly "according to law." Let us suppose an error of the press, and make it νομω. He alludes to some event, which I do not recollect. I suspect that he has taken a line from some Greek poet, and accommodated it to his purpose. B.

Though

brating a general ſacrifice without the city, and had not itſelf fallen, the ſtroke might have been ſupportable. The whole would not have been deſolated; now both lie proſtrate, and the form of the city is confuſed with the ſlaughter of the citizens.

Lament therefore, every iſland and every continent, peaſants and mariners, cities, villages, cottages, every thing that is connected with human nature; and let tears prevail over all the world, as in Ægypt whenever Apis dies *. Even rocks ſhould now be indulged with tears, and birds with reaſon, to join in an elegiac ſong. O harbour, which ſhips now carefully avoiding, rather ſteer into the ocean, their cables ſlipped, which formerly were filled with loaded veſſels, but now cannot boaſt even a pleaſure-boat, and are more dreaded by mariners than even the manſion of Scylla! O diſappointment to travellers, who no longer frequent the road, which, gloomy and in the form of a creſcent, beautifully winded round the dykes of the haven, but embarking ſail to-

Though Libanius, like Julian, was probably acquainted with the Moſaic hiſtory, I will not affirm that he here alludes to it; but certain it is, that this paſſage has no diſtant affinity to the earthquake that ſwallowed up Korah and his company, for offering unhallowed incenſe, and to the plague that deſtroyed their abettors. *Numbers* xvi.

* When Apis dies, they behave as if they had loſt their deareſt children, and bury him in the moſt ſumptuous manner. Nor do the people ceaſe from lamenting till the prieſts have found a calf with the ſame marks.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

wards the hill, to which they formerly haſtened [by land], trembling as at Charybdis, and unable to conjecture in what part of the ſea they uſed to ſtand on the ſhore! O deareſt of cities! in your ruin you have involved your inhabitants; you have deſtroyed them by your fall; ſo that all mankind apply themſelves to ſupplications, thinking the extinction of their whole race determined. After the loſs of this moſt valuable poſſeſſion, nothing hereafter, they apprehend, will be ſpared. Who will ſupply me with wings to waft me thither? Who will place me on an eminence to view the diſtreſsful ſight? For a lover has ſome conſolation in being ſurrounded by the objects of his affection, though in ruins *.

* For the notes on this and the following Monody, marked B, I am obliged to a learned and amiable friend.

A MONODY by LIBANIUS,

ON THE

Daphnæan Temple of Apollo, deſtroyed by Fire, or, as it is ſaid, by Lightning *.

FELLOW-citizens, whoſe eyes, like mine, are now involved in darkneſs †, this city we ſhall no longer ſtyle beautiful or great ‡. A. D. 362.

* The Greek title of this Monody is more perfect in the Royal MS. which I have followed, than in the Bavarian; in which it is only ſtyled, "A Monody on the Daphnæan "Temple of Apollo." But the corollary, which is added to the inſcription here adopted, does not give the ſentiments of Libanius, who had conceived an idea, that ſome incendiary by a ſmall ſpark had kindled this great conflagration, as he ſays, in the beginning; and ſoon after, that he may obviate the opinion of thunder from heaven, he adds, that "it happened in a clear and cloudleſs ſky;" which to the orthodox increaſes the miracle, of which St. John Chryſoſtom, the contemporary of our Libanius, in his 1ſt Diſcourſe on the Martyr St. Babylas, p. 725. "As "ſoon as the bier was brought to the city, lightning "fell from heaven on the head of the image, and con-"ſumed every thing." And the Emperor Julian too was well aware of this; "he knew that the blow came from "heaven;" though he aſſerts, in the Miſopogon, that "the "temple was deſtroyed by the negligence of the keepers, "and the preſumption of the impious." MORELL.

After the interment of St. Babylas, Apollo gave oracles as before; and Julian cauſed a ſuperb colonnade to be built round his temple. But in the night of the 22d of October, 362, a fire conſumed the wood work of that ancient edifice, and the ſtatue itſelf; nor could Julian, who haſtened

to the place, ſupply any remedy. That fire was aſcribed by the Chriſtians to the divine vengeance, and by Julian to the reſentment and jealouſy of the Chriſtians. He ſuſpected the ſacriſt, and the miniſters who kept the temple, of being in a confederacy with them. But thoſe idolaters, being put to the torture, accuſed no one. On the contrary, they conſtantly affirmed, that the fire began from above; and ſome peaſants, who were that night on the road in their way to the city, ſaid, they ſaw fire from heaven fall on the temple, though the weather was very calm, and there was no appearance of a ſtorm. Julian, however, either by way of repriſal, or to prevent the Chriſtians from triumphing, ordered the great church of Antioch to be ſhut, and its riches to be carried to the imperial treaſury.

LA BLETERIE.

See alſo Vol. I. p. 247, 248.

† What darkneſs hangs over the eyes of the Antiochians? Is it the darkneſs of a cloud, which

With miſts and films involves their mortal ſight?

Such as the Pallas of Homer boaſts to have removed from Diomed, and the Venus of Virgil from Æneas? Or is it the gloom of ſorrow, which, hanging over the eyes of the mind, obſcures the uſe of reaſon and thought? MORELL.

‡ On the beauty and extent of Antioch, ſee Philoſtratus on the Life of Apollonius, *l.* I. *c.* xii. *p.* 21. "Apollonius "came to Antioch the Great," &c. and our Libanius, in his oration to Theodoſius the Great, on the ſedition, in behalf of the Antiochians, where, in the concluſion on the miſfortunes of that city, he adds, as here, "our city is be-"come different, or, to ſpeak more truly, it is no longer "a city." Auſonius celebrates it among the famous cities,

Tertia Phœbeæ lauri domus Antiochia.

With the Phœbëan laurel grac'd, the third
Is Antioch.

After the firſt ſentence, Chryſoſtom in the ſame place declares, that Libanius added ſomething of the fable of Daphne, and perhaps it was the fable which Philoſtratus, in the above mentioned paſſage, calls "Arcadian," and explains as follows: "He entered the fane of Daph-"næan Apollo, to which the Aſſyrians aſcribe the Ar-"cadian fable. For they ſay, that Daphne, the daugh-"ter of Ladon, was there transformed; and the river "Ladon flows among them, and the laurel-tree is ho-"noured by them, on account of that virgin." *Ibid.*

. . . [A king

. . . [A king of Perſia, one of the anceſtors of him who is now at war with us, having by treachery taken and burnt the city, as he was preparing the ſame fate for Daphne, was ſo thoroughly diverted from his purpoſe by the Deity, that, throwing away the torch which he brandiſhed, he proſtrated himſelf, and adored Apollo: ſo appeaſed was his reſentment, ſo checked was his fury *.] He, though he led an army againſt us, thought proper to preſerve this temple, and the beauty of the image reſtrained his barbaric fury. But now, O heaven and earth, who and whence is that traitor, who wanting neither light † nor heavy-armed foot ‡, nor

* This I have not publiſhed in the Greek, becauſe it was not in our Royal and Bavarian MS. And John Chryſoſtom himſelf, though he did not inſert it in its proper place, hurried away by the eddy of his diſcourſe, yet afterwards pays it as a debt, or brings it back as a fugitive, with this introduction, "You read this in the beginning of the "Monody, "A king of Perſia," &c. [as above]. But who was this king of Perſia, unleſs it were Sapor, the ſecond king, who, according to Zoſimus, ſucceeded Artaxerxes the firſt king? The ſame took Antioch, and held it till the Emperor Gordian, having defeated the Perſians in ſeveral battles, diſpoſſeſſed king Sapor, and recovered Antioch, with Carrhæ and Niſibis, all which were under the Perſian dominion, as Julius Capitolinus relates in his Gordian.

MORELL.

† The light-armed foot of the Greeks fought with arrows, darts, and ſlings; and were placed either in the van to begin an engagement, or on the flank of the wings to gall the enemies cavalry, and prevent their breaking in.

‡ The heavy-armed ſoldiers engaged with long ſpears, broad ſhields, and cutting ſwords. The Grecian cavalry was not very numerous.

horſe, has conſumed the whole with a ſmall ſpark? Nor was our temple deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, but in a ſerene and cloudleſs ſky. Hitherto, Apollo, your altars thirſting for blood, you have remained the conſtant and careful guardian of Daphne; and though neglected, and ſo far contemned as to be ſtripped of your outward ornaments, you acquieſced. But now, when many ſheep, many oxen, have been offered to you; when the ſacred lips of an Emperor * have impreſſed your feet; ſeen by him whom you have exalted, ſeeing him whom you have proclaimed, and delivered from the hateful neighbourhood of a certain dead body †, which diſturbed you, you have withdrawn from the midſt of your worſhip.

How can we now expect to be honoured, in future, by thoſe who have a veneration for temples and images! When fatigued in our minds, of what a relief, O Jupiter, are we deprived! How pure, how free from all tumults, was the region of Daphne! how much ſtill purer was the ſhrine! like a haven formed by nature within a haven; both being tranquil, but the inner affording the moſt tranquillity. Who did not there loſe his diſeaſes, his fears, his ſorrows? Who there wiſhed

* Julian. The Pagans uſed religiouſly to kiſs the images of their Gods, if they could, and putting their hands to their mouths, they wafted kiſſes to them at a diſtance. From this cuſtom ſome derive the word *adoro*. Thus Job, xxxi. 27. *If my mouth hath kiſſed my hand*, &c. Wolfius.

† The remains of Babylas. See the Miſopogon, Vol. I. p. 247.

for

for the iſland of the bleſſed? Ere long will be the Olympic games *; that annual feſtival will convene the cities; theſe cities too will come, bringing oxen as victims to Apollo. What then ſhall we do? Where ſhall we ſecrete ourſelves? Which of the Gods will open the earth for us? What herald, what trumpet, but will excite tears? Who now will ſtyle the Olympic games a feſtival, as this late misfortune ſuggeſts ſo dire a lamentation?

Bring me my bow of horn †,

ſays the tragedy. I add, a little in the ſpirit of prophecy,

That thus I may attack, and thus deſtroy,
The vile incendiary.

O impious deed! O ſacrilegious ſoul! O daring hand! Surely this was another Tityus ‡, or Idas §,

* Of Antioch. In the adjacent fields a ſtadium was built by a ſpecial privilege, which had been purchaſed from Elis; the Olympic games were regularly celebrated at the expence of the city; and a revenue of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling was annually applied to the public pleaſures. GIBBON.

In three of his Epiſtles Libanius urges three of his friends to ſupply theſe games with wreſtlers; and in his Life, pp. 59 and 68, he mentions two orations which he compoſed on that ſolemnity, which are not now extant. A third is in his works, Vol. II. p. 538.

† Δος τοξα μοι κερουλκα. Euripides in Oreſte, 268.

‡ Struck by Jupiter with a thunderbolt, for attempting to raviſh Latona. See Odyſſ. XI. 575. and Æn. VI. 595.

§ — matchleſs Idas, more than man in war.
The God of day ador'd the mother's charms,
Againſt the God the father bent his arms.
POPE, Il. IX. 672.

Let us not imitate that daring Idas, who bent his bow, it is ſaid, againſt the God; for this is waging war with Apollo. LIBANIUS.

the brother of Lynceus, not an archer, indeed, like the one, or a giant, like the other, but a proficient in nothing save frenzy towards the Gods. The sons of Aloëus *, while they meditated mischief against the Gods, you, Apollo, quieted by death; but him, bringing fire from afar, your arrow did not arrest, transfixing his heart. O wicked hand of Telchin †! O injurious fire! What did it first catch? Where did the evil begin? Seizing the roof, did it descend to the inferior parts, to the head, the face, the cup ‡, the tiara, or the flowing robe? Vulcan, the dis-

* Othus and Ephialtes, who being of a gigantic stature, and threatening to make war against the Gods, were transfixed and slain by the darts of Apollo and Diana. See Æn. VI. 582.

† The Telchines, who inhabited Rhodes, were the inventors of several arts and other things beneficial to mankind. They are also said first to have made images of the Gods, and some of the ancient statues were surnamed from them. Thus among the Lindians Apollo was called Telchinius. Juno was also styled Telchinia. . . They were called enchanters; and were said to produce, when they pleased, clouds and rain, and to generate hail, and to be invidious in teaching their arts. DIODORUS SICULUS.

Thus it appears that the Telchinians were a people of great ingenuity, by which they got a bad name, like our Roger Bacon, and the German Faustus, who is supposed at this very day to have dealt with the Devil; so that this exclamation, Ω δεξιας Τελχινος, standing in immediate connection with the preceding sentence, Telchin here must be Apollo. And perhaps he means to give Apollo a rap here, as he did Neptune [and Apollo too] in the other Monody. B.

‡ The colossal figure of the deity almost filled the capacious sanctuary. He was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous Daphne. GIBBON.

penser

penſer of fire, though indebted to the God for his former obliging diſcovery *, did not rebuke this waſting flame. Nor did Jupiter, who has the command of rain, pour water on it, though for the unfortunate king of Lydia he extinguiſhed the funeral pile †.

What was the firſt ſuggeſtion of him who undertook this enterpriſe? whence this raſhneſs? how could he retain his fury? how could he avoid abandoning his purpoſe through reverence for his beauty of the God? My fancy, O my countrymen, preſents me with the form of the God, and ſets before my eyes his image, the complacency of the aſpect, the tenderneſs of the ſkin expreſſed in the marble, the ſaſh over his breaſt confining the golden robe, ſo that ſome parts of it ſubſided, and others roſe. What mind had ſuch fervour that the whole appearance of the ſtatue could not calm? For the God ſeemed in the act of ſinging; or as when he was once heard playing on his harp at noon. The ſong was in praiſe of the Earth, on whom, gaping to receive the virgin, and then contracting to con-

* Alluding to that paſſage of Homer, Odyſſey VIII, where, in the loves of Mars and Venus, ſung by Demodocus,

Warn'd by the God who ſhed the golden day,
Stern Vulcan homeward treads the ſtarry way,
BROOME.

† Crœſus, being placed by Cyrus on a funeral pile, praying to Apollo was ſaved by a ſhower of rain, which extinguiſhed the flames, See Herodotus, I. 87. Julian aſcribes this miracle to Jupiter.

ceal

ceal her, he ſeemed to pour a libation from the golden cup.

At the eruption of flames the traveller exclaimed; the guardian of Daphne, the domeſtic prieſteſs of the God, was alarmed; the beating of boſoms, and ſhrill ſhrieks, echoing through the ſpacious groves, ſoon reached the city, diffuſing univerſal grief and horror. The prince *, whoſe eye had ſcarce yet yielded to ſleep, at the dreadful intelligence ſprung from his bed. Tranſported with fury, and wiſhing for the wings of Mercury, he ruſhed forth to inveſtigate the cauſe. Inwardly he burnt no leſs than the temple. The rafters now fell, ſcattering the fire below, which deſtroyed all that was within its reach; [the ſtatue of] Apollo immediately, being near to the roof; then other ornaments of the temple, the Muſes, the ſtatues of the founders, the ſplendid marbles, the beautiful pillars. Crowds of ſpectators ſtood by lamenting, but unable to aſſiſt, like thoſe, who from land beholding a ſhipwreck, can afford no relief but their tears. The Nymphs, leaving their fountains, loudly exclaimed; ſo did Jupiter, who ſat not far diſtant, lamenting, as became him, the tarniſhed honours of his ſon; ſo did alſo an innumerable throng of Dæmons who inhabit the foreſt. Nor leſs was the lamentation of Calliope, in the middle of the

* Julian.

city,

city *, when the high-prieſt of the Muſes was injured by the flames * * * * †.

As propitious may'ſt thou now be to me, Apollo, as Chryſes rendered thee, when he imprecated vengeance on the Greeks, full of indignation, and "dark as night ‡." Since while we were offering ſacrifices to thee, and were reſtoring whatever had been purloined from thy temple, the object of our worſhip has been ſnatched away from us; like a bridegroom, who, while the garlands are weaving for his nuptials, dies.

* I have an idea that there was a ſtatue of Calliope in the middle of Antioch, to which Libanius here alludes; and alſo in one of his Epiſtles. See Vol. I. p. 324. And from a paſſage in his DCCXXXVIIIth Epiſtle, to Rufinus, it ſeems to have been erected to that chief of the Muſes by the great-great-grandfather of that friend.

† Something here is wantlng.

‡ Νυκλὶ εοικυῖα. Hom. Il. I. 47.
Breathing revenge, a ſudden night he ſpread. POPE 65.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR JOVIAN.

From the French

Of the Abbé de la BLETERIE.

——— *Infelix brevitate regendi.*

THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

AS the empire and religion are at the death of Julian in a kind of criſis which intereſts the curioſity of the reader, the Life of that prince would remain in ſome degree imperfect, if the Hiſtory of Jovian were not annexed to it. Though he reigned only a few months, and though, in our age, when ſingularity alone may ſupply the place of merit, his character may be leſs intereſting than that of his predeceſſor, I may venture to ſay, that his hiſtory preſents ſome memorable facts, and ſuggeſts more reflections than the long reigns of many other ſovereigns.

It is characteriſed by two remarkable events, one good, the other bad: I mean the re-eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, which is ſeen to re-aſcend the throne of the Cæſars never again to leave it; and that fatal treaty of peace, which announces and begins the fall of the Roman greatneſs. It is thus that *he who dwelleth in the heavens laughs* at the deſigns of his enemies. Julian flattered himſelf with reſtoring his empire to its ancient ſplendor.

He had, or ſeemed to have, moſt of the talents neceſſary for the execution of this plan; yet the imprudence of Julian muſt have been the cauſe, or, at leaſt, the occaſion, of the ruin of the empire. Julian made no doubt of ſuppreſſing the Chriſtian religion: but Providence had decreed that he ſhould be the laſt Pagan Emperor. The war which he waged with Sapor was preparatory to that which he meditated againſt us [the Gauls]. He thought that the conqueſt of Perſia would give him ſufficient leiſure and authority to complete by force of arms the work which his cunning and his artifices had only ſketched; yet it was really that war which preſerved the Chriſtians from the other which he was preparing againſt them; it was that war which took him out of the world, and gave the Romans an Emperor who was zealous enough to make Chriſtianity triumph by means worthy of the true religion.

Hitherto the reign of Jovian has remained loſt, as it were, in general hiſtory. I ſhall be thanked, perhaps, for ſnatching it from oblivion. I have treated it with all the care of which I am capable, and I dare not ſay how much it has coſt me. Hiſtory is not a compilation of facts collected at random, a brilliant collection of pretty thoughts, a tiſſue of learned diſſertations. It is neither a panegyric, nor a ſatire; it ought to be an impartial and diſintereſted narration, ſimple and natural, though ſentimental, always eaſy in its ſtyle, even

when it offers the result of many researches and discussions. It ought, if I may so say, to render the reader contemporary with the events, to instruct without fatiguing him, to enlighten without dazzling him, to make him think, and to give him the pleasure of believing that he thinks for himself, not saying every thing, and leaving nothing to be wished, allowing neither too much nor too little to conjecture, and removing apparent contradictions by lucky discoveries; in a word, it should supply the place of original authors to those who have it not in their power to read them, and enable those, who can consult them, to read them with more pleasure and emolument. I have endeavoured to write in this manner the History of Jovian. I do not flatter myself with having succeeded; happy if connoisseurs find some marks of resemblance between the execution and the idea.

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR JOVIAN.

A. D. 363. IT may be ſeen, in the Life of Julian, that that prince, after paſſing the Tigris above Cteſiphon, by an extravagance which even ſucceſs could not excuſe, burned his fleet and proviſions *. He was deſirous

* He deſtroyed, in a ſingle hour, the whole navy, which had been tranſported above five hundred miles, at ſo great an expence of toil, of treaſure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the moſt, twenty-two ſmall veſſels were ſaved, to accompany on carriages the march of the army, and to form occaſional bridges for the paſſage of the rivers. A ſupply of twenty days proviſions was reſerved for the uſe of the ſoldiers; and the reſt of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred veſſels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the abſolute command of the Emperor. The Chriſtian biſhops, Gregory and Auguſtin, inſult the madneſs of the apoſtate, who executed, with his own hands, the ſentence of divine juſtice. Their authority, of leſs weight perhaps in a military queſtion, is confirmed by the cool judgement of an experienced ſoldier [Ammianus], who was himſelf ſpectator of the conflagration, and who could not diſapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops. Yet there are not wanting ſome ſpecious, and perhaps ſolid, reaſons, which might juſtify the reſolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never aſcended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis. The diſtance of the laſt-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very conſiderable; and Julian muſt ſoon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing

firous of penetrating into the heart of Aſſyria; but at the end of ſome days march, finding neither corn nor forage, becauſe the Perſians had laid all the country waſte, he was obliged to approach the Tigris. Being unable to paſs it for want of boats, he took for the model of his retreat that of the ten thouſand *, and reſolved to gain, like them, the country of the Carduci, called in his time

forcing upwards a great fleet againſt the ſtream of a rapid river, which in ſeveral places was embarraſſed by natural or artificial cataracts. The power of ſails and oars was inſufficient; it became neceſſary to tow the ſhips againſt the current of the river; the ſtrength of 20,000 ſoldiers was exhauſted in this tedious and ſervile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without atchieving any enterpriſe worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was adviſeable to advance into the inland country, the deſtruction of the fleet and magazines was the only meaſure which could ſave that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might ſuddenly be poured from the gates of Cteſiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we ſhould now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his ſoldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conqueſt. Recollect the ſucceſsful and applauded raſhneſs of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ſhips on the coaſts of Africa and Mexico. GIBBON.

* ——————— the martial throng,
Up Tigris' banks who wound their march along;
O'er wilds and mountains held their toilſome way,
By hoſts aſſaulted, and the ſolar ray;
By thirſt, by famine, by eternal ſnows —
Whom heaven and earth united to oppoſe.
Unconquer'd ſtill the Greeks each peril meet,
Regain their ſhores, and dignify retreat. IRWIN.

Corduenne, a name which is ſtill found in that of Curdes and Curdiſtan. Corduenne, then ſubject to the Romans, is ſituated on the north of Aſſyria. Thus marching on that ſide, Julian had the Tigris on his left, and went up towards the ſource of that river.

Superior in every attack to the lieutenants of Sapor, whether they waited for him in line of battle, or contented themſelves with inſulting him on his march, he was ſtill advancing, when on the 26th of June, 363, repulſing the enemy with too much ardour, he received a wound, of which he died the night following *.

At the death of Julian the Roman army was in a ſtrange ſituation; victorious, but in want of every thing. Corduenne, its only reſource, was ſtill far diſtant. To reach this province it muſt traverſe without proviſions, beneath a burning ſky, a ruined country, ſuſtain in this march the continual at-

* The defection of this great man from the pureſt of all religions cannot be defended, though it may be accounted for; and his averſion and diſcountenance to Chriſtians ſuit not the informed and liberal mind of Julian in other points. It will ſuffice to ſay, that his life ſeems to have belied the name of Apoſtate, which he brought upon himſelf by his deviation from the faith in which he was educated. If the paths of Virtue lead to the temple of Truth, he invariably trod them; and may charitably be ſuppoſed to have arrived, by an indirect courſe, at the divine goal. The circumſtances of his death are ſo ſimilar to thoſe of Epaminondas, that we muſt be rejoiced to find their lives were equally dignified by purſuits that rendered their end immortal. IRWIN.

tacks

tacks of the Perſians, always formidable though vanquiſhed, becauſe they were as ready to rally as to fly, and, beſides, as the death of Julian had raiſed the hopes of king Sapor.

It ſeemed difficult to remain without a chief; the moments were precious. On the 27th of June, therefore, at break of day, the officers met to chooſe a ſucceſſor to Julian, who had juſt expired. The creatures of that prince *, and thoſe who ſtill remained of the old court †, having neither the ſame intereſts, nor the ſame views, all earneſtly deſired an Emperor of their own faction; but as neither of the two factions had had time to concert among themſelves, all their ſuffrages, not one excepted, were united in favour of Salluſt the ſecond, Præfect of the Prætorium of the Eaſt. This illuſtrious Pagan, whoſe virtue cannot be ſufficiently admired and lamented, completed the juſtification of that choice by the firmneſs with which he refuſed to load himſelf with a burthen too oppreſſive, he ſaid, both for his age and infirmities. A ſubaltern officer ‡, then ſeeing the embarraſſment into which the perſevering refuſal of Salluſt had thrown the aſſembly, ſaid to the generals, "What

* Nevitta, Dagalaïphus, and the Gallic officers. B.

† Arintheus, Victor, &c. B.

‡ Thus I tranſlate that expreſſion, *honoratior aliquis miles*. I ſuſpect that Ammianus thus deſcribes himſelf. B.

The modeſt and judicious hiſtorian deſcribes the ſcene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly preſent (xxv. 5.) GIBBON.

" would you do, if the prince, inſtead of march-
" ing in perſon, had given you the command of
" the army? You would only think of extricating
" yourſelves from this dilemma. Act, as if he
" were ſtill living; and when we have once reached
" Meſopotamia, in concert with the army of ob-
" ſervation we will chooſe an Emperor, whoſe
" election cannot be conteſted." This perhaps would have been the beſt advice; but ſome on a ſudden exalted their voices in favour of Jovian, and by their tumultuous clamours drew away all the reſt, without giving them time to conſider.

Flavius Claudius Jovianus, aged about 33 years, was the firſt of the Emperor's guards *. He had conducted the corpſe of Conſtantius to the imperial city; and as, according to cuſtom, ſitting in the funereal car, he received in ſome ſort the honours which were paid to that prince, it was imagined, after the event, that this honourable, but tranſient and mournful, employment had been the prognoſtic and image of his future grandeur †. The

* Jovian was not captain of the guards, as ſome have thought; but only what was called *domeſticorum ordinis primus*. What rank this was we know not. *Domeſtici*, or *protectores domeſtici*, are certainly the body-guards. B.

The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a ſenator, and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. *Cod. Theodoſian. l.* vi. *tit.* xxiv. Theſe privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian. Gibbon.

† Wherever the Emperors paſſed, deputies were ſent to them: they were harangued, ſamples of the proviſions intended for the troops were preſented to them, the horſes were

The nobility of his family aſcended no higher than count Varronian, his father, born in the territory of the city of Singidon in Myſia, and probably a ſoldier of fortune, who, for his merit, had been appointed to the command of the Jovians: Such was the appellation of a body of troops formed by Diocletian, who, it is known, had taken the ſurname of Jovius. It was owing perhaps to his regard for the troop of which he was chief, that Varronian made one of his children bear the name of Jovian. This officer, full of years and glory, ſtill enjoyed his high reputation in retirement. Some even pretend that it conſtituted the principal merit of his ſon. But to refute them it is ſufficient to ſay, that though Jovian had declared that he would rather quit the ſervice than renounce the Chriſtian religion, Julian did not ceaſe to keep him near his perſon, and to take him with him, when he ſet out on his fatal expedition. Julian was well acquainted with his talents. A confeſſor of the faith, whom an apoſtate and intolerant monarch thought worthy to retain a place of confidence, was certainly no ordinary ſubject. The Pagans themſelves do juſtice to his valour, and if

were ſhewn to them, &c. which the public maintained for the uſe of thoſe who travelled by order of the court. The ſame ceremonial was obſerved with regard to the Emperors after their deaths. On that occaſion he who attended the corpſe acted and ſpoke, without doubt, in the name of the late Emperor. It was a kind of ſovereignty which expired on the tomb of the prince. See Amm. *l.* xxi. *c. ult.* B.

they ſometimes ſpeak of him as a timid prince, this reproach falls rather on the politician than the warrior.

To finiſh his portrait, without copying the Chriſtian authors, who might here perhaps ſeem leſs credible, I will chiefly confine myſelf to the teſtimony of Ammianus and Eutropius, both Pagans, who were in the Perſian war, and of whom the former ſerved in the guards with Jovian. With the ſentiments of a generous and beneficent ſoul this prince united affable manners, a fund of gaiety which induced him to joke with thoſe who approached him, ſufficient application and activity, but too little experience. He had ſuch a knowledge of mankind as promiſed diſcernment in the diſtribution of employments; ſome literature *, and great regard for men of learning; an extreme attachment to his religion, but a great reſpect to conſcience, which he thought accountable only to God. Zealous without bitterneſs, and moderate without indifference, he profeſſed orthodoxy; but he perſecuted neither heretics, nor even Pagans. It is ſaid, that theſe excellent qualities were accompanied with ſome faults. Ammianus accuſes him of loving wine and the table, and ſome other pleaſures ſtill more unbecoming a Chriſtian. Men are apt to be inconſiſtent, and their belief has not always a ſufficient influence on their morals.

* This ſeems to me the ſenſe of thoſe words of Ammianus, *Mediocriter cruditus, magiſque benevolus.* B.

"But,"

" But," says the same author, " the respect which " he owed to his purple would have corrected " them *." Jovian was in stature much above the common standard, and large in proportion, so that it was difficult to find an imperial habit that would fit him. He was round-shouldered, as he appears also on his medals, and had a majestic air, but a heavy walk. The gaiety of his mind sparkled on his face and in his eyes. He is ranked among the good princes. Perhaps he would have been placed among the greatest, if he had ascended the throne at a juncture less fatal, and if he had reigned longer.

The army was still ignorant, it seems, of the death of Julian. It was beginning to leave the camp, in order to march, when the new Emperor appeared, and, invested with the marks of his dignity, repaired to the different quarters to shew himself to the soldiers. The name of *Jovian* resounded on all sides; but the resemblance of this name to that of *Julian* causing a mistake, some cried, JULIAN AUGUSTUS. Their cries, soon approaching by degrees to the vanguard already at a distance from the camp, were repeated with the most lively transports. It was imagined that the wound of Julian was not dangerous, and that he was leaving his tent, according to custom, in the

* These are the historian's own words, *Edax tamen et vino venerique indulgens; quæ vitia imperiali verecundiâ forsitan correxisset.* B.

midſt of acclamations. But this tranſient joy was immediately ſucceeded by affliction and tears, as ſoon as the preſence of Jovian announced what had juſt happened.

Such is the recital of an eye-witneſs, a Pagan indeed, but an impartial writer; I mean Ammianus Marcellinus. His teſtimony does not allow us to underſtand literally what Theodoret wrote about half a century after him, of the perfect unanimity with which all the army demanded Jovian for Emperor, while the officers were aſſembled for the election. Nothing, however, obliges us to reject what the ſame father adds: "Jovian," he ſays, "was placed on a tribunal prepared in haſte; the "names of Auguſtus and Emperor were given "him. The prince then ſaid to the ſoldiers, with "his uſual frankneſs, that, being a Chriſtian, he "could not command Pagans, and that he ſaw the "wrath of the living God ready to fall on an army of "idolaters." "You command Chriſtians," exclaimed with one voice thoſe who heard him. "The reign "of ſuperſtition has been too ſhort to efface from "our minds and our hearts the inſtructions of the "great Conſtantine and his ſon Conſtantius. Im-"piety has not had time to take root in the ſouls "of thoſe who have embraced it *."

While Jovian received the homage of the army,

* Ammianus, calmly purſuing his narrative, overthrows this legend by a ſingle ſentence: *Hoſtiis pro Joviano extiſque inſpectis, pronuntiatum eſt*, &c. XXV. 6. GIBBON.

an enſign of whom he had reaſon to complain *, fearing his reſentment, deſerted to the enemy. He found Sapor, who had juſt joined his troops, at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement. This fugitive, admitted to an audience of the great king, told him, that "Julian was no more; and that the ſervants "of the army had tumultuouſly ſupplied his place "with the phantom of an Emperor, one only of "the body-guard, a man without vigour, without "courage, without capacity." At this unexpected news the monarch ſtarted with joy. The valour of Julian, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, had ſo alarmed him, that he paid no attention to his hair, and ate on the ground as in the greateſt calamities. The Perſians, even after the death of that formidable enemy, repreſented him, in their hieroglyphical paintings, under the emblem of thunder, or of a lion vomiting flames; ſuch was the terror with which he had impreſſed them. Sapor, who ſaw himſelf at the ſummit of his wiſhes at the very time when he thought himſelf on the brink of deſtruction, flattered himſelf that the Romans would no longer ſtand before him, and detached a body of cavalry † full ſpeed to fall on their rear-guard, with the troops that had fought the preceding day.

Sapor had no doubt that the Romans were on their march; but the election of Jovian had ſuſ-

* He was an enemy of Varronian. By mangling the reputation of the father, he deſerved the hatred of the ſon. B.

† Perhaps the ten thouſand *Immortals*. GIBBON.

pended

pended their departure; and this prince thought of deferring it till the next day. The Pagans, for all were not converted, having offered ſome ſacrifices of thankſgiving for his election to the empire, the augurs found in the entrails of the victims that all would be loſt, if they remaiued in the camp, but that they ſhould gain ſome advantage, if they began their march. As the Emperor knew how much ſuperſtition can affect courage, he did not hefitate to purſue the latter. The Romans had ſcarce left their entrenchments when they ſaw themſelves attacked. Their cavalry was at firſt put into diſorder by the elephants which preceded that of the Perſians; but the legionaries ſo vigorouſly ſuſtained the ſhock of the hoſtile ſquadrons, that they forced them to retire. On the ſide of the Barbarians, beſides ſome elephants, a great number of ſoldiers were left on the field. The Romans, however, paid too dearly for that advantage, as it coſt them three of their braveſt officers *.

After having paid them the laſt duties, as well as the time and place would permit, they encamped near a caſtle named Sumera †; and on the next day, for want of a better defence, they entrenched

* Tribunes.

† On the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Cteſiphon. In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a ſlight change of name, the royal reſidence of the Khalifs of the houſe of Abbas. The obſcure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably loſt; nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell.

GIBBON.

them-

themſelves in a valley ſurrounded by eminences which left only one outlet. From the top of thoſe hills, covered with trees, the Perſians rained on the camp a ſhower of arrows, which they accompanied with the bittereſt taunts, calling the Romans "traitors, and the murderers of their "Emperor." Thoſe reproaches originated from the frivolous diſcourſe of ſome deſerters, and the endeavours which the great king ineffectually employed to diſcover who had delivered him from Julian. Sapor having offered a reward proportioned to the importance of the ſervice without any one appearing to claim it, he concluded that Julian had been killed by one of his own ſubjects; as if it were impoſſible for that raſh prince to have been ſtruck either by a dart thrown at random *, or that the horſeman, who wounded him, might himſelf have loſt his life.

Libanius indeed has diſplayed all his rhetoric to give ſome colour to this accuſation. This ſophiſt abſolutely inſiſts that the fatal blow, which ſhortened the days of Julian, came from a Chriſtian hand directed and employed by the chief of the Chriſtians †. By this Libanius probably means ſome

* Thus Ahab was killed by *a certain man* who *drew a bow at a venture*. 1 Kings xxii. 34.

† Εἵλολην πληρων τω σφων αὐλων αρχοντι. *Implens acceptum ab eo qui præeſt illis mandatum*. Perhaps it ſhould be tranſlated *præerat*; as the oration of Libanius was not compoſed till the reign of Theodoſius. I have retained in the French

ſome diſtinguiſhed biſhop, whom he makes the author of a conſpiracy formed againſt the life of Julian. He pretends that he was privately acquainted with all the particulars of that dreadful tragedy, and that there needed only public authority to unravel and aſcertain its horrors. Libanius, however, utters only conjectures that are eaſily confuted by other conjectures as probable as his; and as to the pretended conſpiracy, the profound ſilence of all writers of the ſame religion is a proof either that they had not heard it mentioned, or at leaſt that they conſidered it as a fable *. Thoſe authors, and Zoſimus himſelf, ſay expreſsly, or plainly ſuppoſe, that Julian was wounded by a ſoldier of Sapor. The malignity of Zoſimus is well known: all the evil which he has not ſaid of the Chriſtians, and which others have ſaid of them, has much the air of a calumny.

French the equivocal expreſſion of the Greek. It is impoſſible to know what biſhop Libanius had in view. It is ſurmiſed that it might have been either St. Baſil or St. Gregory of Nazianzus. For my part, I think that in the time of Julian there was no biſhop in the Eaſt who deſerved the name of "chief of the Chriſtians" better than St. Athanaſius. B.

* Above ſixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was ſolemnly and vehemently urged in a public oration, addreſſed by Libanius to the Emperor Theodoſius. The ſuſpicions are unſupported by fact or argument, and we can only eſteem the generous zeal of the ſophiſt of Antioch for the cold and neglected aſhes of his friend. GIBBON.

After

After all, that a rhetorician, like Libanius, a Pagan even to madneſs, ſhould think the Chriſtians capable of attempting the life of Julian, is not ſurpriſing. That it is poſſible for an ignorant and fanatical Chriſtian to think that he ſhall immortaliſe himſelf both in this world and the next, by delivering the church from an implacable perſecutor, hiſtory unhappily affords too many examples. But that an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, like Sozomen, ſhould be tempted to canoniſe ſo deteſtable an action, might perhaps not be credited on my aſſertion. Let him ſpeak for himſelf: "It is not "improbable," ſays that writer, "that one of "thoſe who then ſerved in the army might have "reflected, that the deſtroyers of tyrants were "highly extolled, not only by the ancient Greeks, "but by others even to our times, as men who for "the common liberty of all did not heſitate to die, "having chearfully aſſiſted their countrymen, "friends, and relations. No one certainly," continues Sozomen, "can eaſily blame him, who, for "the ſake of God and his religion, has acted ſuch "a manly part *." Sozomen, it ſeems, had ſtudied profane antiquity more than the morality of the goſpel and the ſpirit of true Chriſtianity. Let it be obſerved, that this hiſtorian was not a father

* *Sozom. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* VI. *c.* 2.

Sozomen applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole paſſage, which a Jeſuit might have tranſlated, is prudently ſuppreſſed by the preſident Couſin. GIBBON.

of

of the church, that he has no authority in matters of doctrine, that his language is here contrary to all tradition, that he wrote towards the middle of the fifth century; and that he is the first in whom we perceive some marks of that anti-christian fanaticism. But it is time to resume the thread of the history.

While their enemies, posted on the heights, were insulting the army, a detachment of cavalry forced the gate of the camp, called the Prætorian gate; and were very near penetrating even to the imperial tent: but they were repulsed with loss. The Romans afterwards encamped at Carche; from whence on the succeeding day, July 1, they arrived near the city of Dura *, which must not be confounded with another of the same name, situated in Mesopotamia. Four days were there lost by the obstinacy of the Barbarians. As soon as the army was on the march, they harrassed it by continual skirmishes, sometimes in rear, sometimes in flank. If it faced about to receive them, by degrees they gave ground, being only desirous of retarding its march, and leaving to famine the care of fighting for them.

The fear of the worst misfortunes makes men credulous and ready to adopt the most hazardous expedients. On a sudden a report being spread that the

* Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus, against the rebels of Media and Persia. (Polybius, *l.* v. *c.* 48. 52.) GIBBON.

frontiers

frontiers of the empire are not far diſtant; on this falſe ſuppoſition the ſoldier will no longer coaſt the Tigris, but clamorouſly inſiſts on being allowed to paſs it. The Emperor, with the principal officers, oppoſes this raſh project in vain. In vain, ſhewing this river always ſo rapid, and then ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows of Armenia, he repreſents that moſt of them cannot ſwim, that the enemy is maſter of the two banks, and that, if they gain the other ſide, it will only be to fall into his hands. Theſe ſage remonſtrances are diſregarded. The clamours increaſe, threats are added; every thing breathes ſedition. It was neceſſary to allow a number of Gauls and Germans * to attempt the paſſage. Jovian flattered himſelf that if they periſhed, the reſt would become more tractable, or, if they were ſo lucky as to ſucceed, he might reaſonably make an attempt to tranſport the army.

By favour of the night, five hundred able ſwimmers croſs the Tigris with more eaſe than could have been expected, and find the Perſians, who guarded the oppoſite bank, buried in a profound ſleep. They make a great ſlaughter, and as ſoon as the day begins to break, they raiſe their hands, and throw their cloaths into the air, to announce their ſucceſs. The army, anxious to follow them, urges the engineers to conſtruct a kind of [floating]

* The text of Ammianus gives *Sarmatis*; but it is probably faulty. Soon after, the ſame author calls them Germans. B.

bridge, which they propoſed to make of ſheep ſkins faſtened together *. They laboured on it two days; but it was impoſſible to fix it on account of the violence and rapidity of the ſtream. The ſoldiers, having conſumed the proviſions that they had left, became deſperate, and rather choſe to periſh ſword in hand than languiſh under the horrors of a ſlow and cruel death.

Ths Perſians, on their ſide, had alſo much to lament. The intoxication of Sapor was already diſpelled; from the moſt preſumptuous confidence, he relapſed into an extreme perplexity; he ſaw his country laid waſte, his towns taken by aſſault, his troops, always defeated when they dared to wait for the enemy, having no reſource but in flight, and conſiderably diminiſhed by the loſs of an innumerable multitude of men, and almoſt all the elephants. Every day ſome new check made him perceive that the valour of the Romans was not buried † with Julian. Animated with the genius of that conqueror, they ſeemed to think as much, and perhaps more, of revenging him than of ſurviving him. Famine itſelf could not force from them the leaſt propoſal of peace. Was Sapor certain of avoiding a battle? And if he muſt fight,

* Covered with a floor of earth and faſcines. A ſimilar expedient was propoſed to the leaders of the ten thouſand, and wiſely rejected. It appears, from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris. GIBBON.

† *Enſeuelie.* A ſlight inaccuracy. Julian was not then "buried."

what

what had he not to fear from men reſolved to determine their fate, either by gaining a complete victory, or at leaſt by rendering their defeat fatal even to the conquerors? Could he flatter himſelf with annihilating the Roman army, he was not ignorant that Julian had left in Meſopotamia 40,000 men, under the command of his relation Procopius: at length the vaſt provinces of the empire might eaſily furniſh other legions, who, by attacking Perſia when exhauſted and terrified, might overthrow the throne of the Artaxerxides already tottering.

Amidſt theſe melancholy reflections, he was informed of the ſucceſsful temerity of the Gauls and Germans. This exploit of a handful of determined men alarms him, and makes him ſenſible of what a whole army of deſperadoes will be capable. Immediately he turns all his thoughts towards an accommodation with the Romans; he does not heſitate to make the firſt advances, proceeding to eſſentials, and deſiring, at any rate, to commence a negociation, which, in the preſent circumſtances, muſt infallibly terminate to his advantage. Thus, contrary to their expectations, the Romans ſaw the Surena (he was the general of the Perſian cavalry), arrive in their camp, with another lord *. "The "Great King our maſter," ſaid the deputies to

* Sextus Rufus (*de Provinciis*, c. 29.) embraces a poor ſubterfuge of national vanity. *Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut à Perſis* primus *de pace ſermo haberetur.* GIBBON.

Jovian and the principal officers, " is not dazzled " by proſperity; he knows the ſituation to which " fortune has reduced you; but he knows ſtill " better the uncertainty of human affairs. Sapor " reſpects unſucceſsful virtue, even in his enemies. " He eſteems you enough to ſeek your alliance, " and to offer you peace on equitable terms."

As the Romans were ſupported only by deſpair, the hope of peace weakened them at once, and made, it may be ſaid, their arms fall from their hands. Jovian, in particular, was eager to enjoy the empire, and to inſure to himſelf its poſſeſſion by repairing ſpeedily to the capital. How did he know, but that, in his abſence, ſome ambitious leader, Procopius for inſtance, then at the head of an army, might ſeize the diadem? At that time, thoſe who aſſumed the purple did not even deign to ſeek pretexts to colour their enterpriſe; and Procopius, as he was related to Julian, might allege the rights of conſanguinity. The propoſals therefore of Sapor were embraced with eagerneſs. They were vague, embarraſſed, equivocal, and liable to great diſcuſſions. At all events, this able politician deſigned to protract the negociation, in order to famiſh the Romans more and more.

The Emperor, on the contrary, impatient to conclude it, diſpatched, without loſing a moment, Salluſt, with Arintheus *, to draw from Sapor himſelf

* Libanius puts the general Victor in the room of Arintheus. The latter was reckoned one of the greateſt captains

himſelf ſomething determinate. They had many conferences equally long and intricate by the management of the old monarch, who negociated peace as he waged war. The more the Romans advanced, the more he retreated. He formed ſuppoſitions upon ſuppoſitions, and raiſed difficulties upon difficulties. Now he required time, then he would no longer grant what he had promiſed, and promiſed what he had refuſed. Beſides, he ſeemed to think it ſtrange that the death of Julian was not revenged; for he ſtill thought that that prince had been killed by a Roman *; and as the deputies probably did not allow the fact, "if one "of my generals †," added he, "had loſt his

captains of his age. Prodigies are related of his valour. He was of an extraordinary ſtature, yet ſo well made, that, St. Baſil ſays, he was conſidered as the model of a man. His ſtrength was equal to his courage. His looks alone had made him gain ſome battles. He received baptiſm before his death. We have a conſolatory letter written by St. Baſil to the widow of Arintheus, who had been the protector of the churches, and the friend of St. Baſil. We have alſo a letter from the ſame ſaint to this general, in which he praiſes him for his generoſity and liberality, of which every one perceived the effects. See M. de Tillemont on the Emperor Valens, *Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, tom. V. p. 100. B.

* For the Perſians alſo had heard this report, and, in conſequence, before Jovian made peace with them, the common ſoldiers reviled the Romans as traitors and murderers of the greateſt of princes, as we learn from Ammianus, xxv. 6. OLEARIUS.

† Libanius heard theſe words of Sapor to the Roman ambaſſadors, no doubt, from Salluſt himſelf, with whom he was extremely intimate, as four of his epiſtles to Salluſt ſufficiently atteſt. *Ibid.*

" life in a battle, thoſe, who, being near his " perſon, had the cowardice not to die with him, " ſhould not eſcape my juſt reſentment. I would " inſtantly ſend their heads to the family of that " officer." We here diſcern the ideas and language of an Eaſtern monarch. Sapor, by affecting to intereſt himſelf in revenging Julian, was alſo deſirous perhaps of teſtifying his eſteem for that prince, with a view to inſinuate, that he had little regard for his ſucceſſor, and that he no longer feared the Romans.

They became leſs formidable every moment. A devouring famine conſumed them, while by chicanery and affected delays he trifled with their deputies. " We paſſed four days," ſays Ammianus, " in a ſtate more cruel than the ſevereſt " puniſhments. During that time, if the Emperor, " diſcovering the artifices of Sapor, before he " ſent deputies to that prince, had continually " gained ground, he would certainly have arrived " at the ſtrong places of Corduenne, which then " belonged to us; and which would have ſupplied " us with proviſions in abundance. We were but " a hundred miles diſtant *."

* About thirty leagues. B.

It is preſumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a ſoldier and a ſpectator. Yet it is difficult to underſtand, how the mountains of Corduenne could extend over the plain of Aſſyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab: or *how* an army of ſixty thouſand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

GIBBON.

I wiſh

I wiſh Ammianus had clearly explained the poſſibility of this march. If I am not miſtaken, this is his idea. Sapor himſelf had occaſion for a peace, and only offered it to his enemies becauſe he feared to encounter them. Jovian therefore ſhould have oppoſed craft to craft, ſhould have expreſſed leſs eagerneſs for peace, ſhould, however, have given good words to the envoys of Sapor, ſhould have purſued his route, ſhould have ſent deputies to that prince, and have treated on his march. Sapor, from the fear of being forced to a battle, or of thwarting the accommodation, would not have attacked the Romans, and would have been taken in his own ſnare. Ammianus was a ſoldier: he underſtood his profeſſion, and knew the country. He ſaw things near, and he ſaw them with reflection; to be convinced of this we need only read him. The judgement of an hiſtorian like him muſt embarraſs the defenders of Jovian.

When Sapor thought he had ſubdued the Romans by famine, he threw off the maſk, and, ſpeaking with authority, he declared, firſt, that he inſiſted on their reſtoring to him, for ſo he expreſſed himſelf, the five provinces beyond the Tigris *, formerly conquered by the Emperor

* Moſt of theſe provinces were on this ſide the Tigris with regard to the Romans. In calling them "beyond the "Tigris" they conformed to the language of the Perſians, whom they were on the other ſide of that river. As to the particular names of the provinces, they are not the ſame in all authors. B.

Maximian-Galerius from King Narſeus, his grandfather; viz. Arzanenia, Moxoënia, Zabdicenia, Rehimenia, and Corduenne. Secondly, that beſides theſe, there ſhould be ceded to him fifteen caſtles, the city of Niſibis, that of Singara in Meſopotamia, and another important place called the Caſtle of the Moors (*Caſtra Maurorum*). Thirdly, that they would engage to interfere no more in the affairs of Armenia, and even refuſe king Arſaces the aſſiſtance which he might demand againſt the Perſians.

" It would have been a thouſand times better," ſays Ammianus, " to have tried the chance of " arms than to have accepted any one of theſe " conditions." In fact, under pretence of a reſtitution, which is not honourable but when it is voluntary, to cede five provinces, annexed to the empire for about ſeventy years, was to pay a ranſom the more humiliating as there were added to it almoſt all Meſopotamia, and even Niſibis, which had been poſſeſſed by the Romans ever ſince the wars of Mithridates; Niſibis, the bulwark of the Eaſt, and the rock which wrecked the pride of Sapor *.

By

* He acquired, by a ſingle article, the impregnable city of Niſibis, which had ſuſtained, in three ſucceſſive ſieges, the effort of his arms. GIBBON.

The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief, or indignation, by Ammianus (xxv. 7.); Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 142. p. 364.); Zoſimus (l. III. p. 190, 191.); Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* IV. p. 117, 118. who imputes the diſtreſs to

By binding his hands with regard to Armenia, Jovian surrendered at discretion, to a revengeful, perfidious, and cruel prince, Arsaces *, the faithful ally of the Romans, to whom he was connected by the nearest and most honourable ties, as Constantius had made him espouse Olympias, daughter of the Præfect Ablavius, who had been contracted to his brother the Emperor Constans. Sapor was the declared enemy of the Christians; and, what must personally affect Jovian, Arsaces, by his attachment to Christianity, had merited, like Jovian himself, disgrace from Julian. King Arsaces had been essentially serviceable to the empire. He had just ravaged the provinces of Persia bordering on Armenia. That was his crime in the sight of Sapor, and the secret reason, but easy to be guessed, for which he required them to refuse him assistance.

These considerations could not escape Jovian; but he was besieged by a crowd of flatterers, who

to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian); and Eutropius (x. 17.) The last-mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace *necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem.* *Ibid.*

* See p. 186. The unsuspicious Tiranus was persuaded by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province. *Ibid.*

incessantly

inceſſantly repreſented to him Procopius as an enemy more dangerous than Sapor *. . . His fear of Procopius was well grounded; and it may be ſaid that his revolt † juſtified it two years after, if, nevertheleſs, this fear itſelf did not occaſion his revolt. Beſides, there is the greateſt probability, that the irreparable loſs of four days, imprudently conſumed in inactivity, had rendered the army utterly incapable of fighting, and reduced Jovian to the indiſpenſible neceſſity of accepting the peace. Thus the treaty was perhaps leſs the work of his timid policy than of his inability.

Be that as it may, to the diſgrace of the Roman name, this prince received the law from Sapor, and agreed to all the articles propoſed. All that he obtained, and that with difficulty, was, that the garriſons of the places ceded as well as the inhabitants of Niſibis and Singara, ſhould retire into the territories of the Romans. Arſaces was included in the treaty, of which he did not fail to be ſoon after made the victim. On both ſides a peace, or rather a truce, of thirty years was ſworn, and in the mean time hoſtages ‡ were given for the performance of the treaty.

* La Bleterie has expreſſed, in a long direct oration, theſe ſpecious conſiderations of public and private intereſt. GIBBON.

This harangue being imaginary, I have omitted it.

† For an account of his revolt and death, ſee p. 221. note

‡ Remora, Victor, and Bellovædius, tribunes, on the part of the Romans; and Bineſes, with three other Satraps, on that of the Perſians. AMMIANUS.

Rufinus

Rufinus and Theodoret, deceived by probability, pretend that Sapor furnished the Romans with provisions *. Nothing was more natural; but without doubt, the Persians had no magazines, and subsisted themselves with difficulty in an exhausted country. At least, it is certain that the Romans gained by that disgraceful peace not even the permission to deviate from the banks of the Tigris †, where the roads were rough and craggy, in order to cross the country to the place where they intended to pass that river. Thither they proceeded by long marches, continually tormented by famine, to which was also added want of water. Many, collecting their expiring strength, withdrew from

* Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. IV. p. 702. GIBBON.

† In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura, the ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, above 1200 miles from their native country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of their conduct and success depended much more on their character than on their situation. Instead of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly; where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the Barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy. GIBBON. See p. 256. note *.

the

the body of the army, and endeavoured to ſwim croſs the Tigris. Moſt of them periſhed; the reſt fell into the hands of the Perſians and Saracens poſted on the other ſhore. Theſe Barbarians, incenſed by the maſſacre of their companions whom the Gauls and Germans had ſlaughtered, put to death all who eſcaped the waters, or if they ſpared ſome of them, it was only to ſell them, and ſend them to ſuch a diſtance that the Romans could never reclaim them.

When the Emperor and the army were arrived at the place of paſſage, which no author, not even Ammianus, has taken care to point out to us, after ſome flight preparations, the trumpet gave the ſignal. It is impoſſible to expreſs with what precipitation every one, caring only for himſelf, haſtened to outrun his companions, and braved danger, to eſcape, as ſoon as poſſible, from that fatal country. Some on bad hurdles, by way of rafts, drew after them their horſes ſwimming; others were carried on bladders; all availed themſelves of what was offered them by chance, or of what neceſſity, ever fruitful in expedients, made them contrive. Twelve ſmall flat boats, the remains of the fleet of Julian, ſerved to tranſport the Emperor, with the principal officers, and made, by his order, as many voyages were neceſſary to complete the tranſportation. "Thus," ſays Ammianus, "by the divine goodneſs, we all paſſed "ſafely,

" ſafely, excepting ſome who had the misfortune " to be drowned."

Immediately after, advice was received that the Perſians, out of the ſight of the Romans, were conſtructing a bridge, no doubt that they might intercept the ſtragglers and the baggage; but ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, they did not dare to execute their perfidious deſign. Thus the Perſians, it appears, had materials for a bridge. Why then did not Jovian inſiſt, as a preliminary, that they ſhould facilitate his paſſage? Sapor was too great a gainer by the treaty to have made a difficulty of a condition which he could with eaſe perform. This ſeems worth remarking, as another proof of the inability of Jovian.

The Roman army, continuing its march with extreme diligence, encamped ſome leagues from the Tigris, near the town of Hatra *, ſituated on a hill in the midſt of a vaſt deſert, formerly inhabited by the Scenites Arabians: it had been reckoned impregnable, but had now been long abandoned. Perhaps the Romans, when they ſaw Hatra, conſoled themſelves a little on their diſgrace, by recollecting that which had befallen, under the ramparts of that place, the two greateſt

* So called by Ammianus, by Dio, (*lib. ult.*) Τα Ἄτρα, and by M. de la Bleterie, *Atra*.

M. d'Anville (ſee his maps, and *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, pp. 92, 93.) traces their march, and aſſigns the true poſition of Hatra, Ur, and Thilſaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned. GIBBON.

generals that had filled the throne of the Cæſars. Trajan had made the taking it a point of honour, but nature abſolutely armed againſt him, in defence of the beſieged; and what may be conſidered as a prodigy of another kind, Severus, who, after having raiſed the ſiege, attacked it a ſecond time, called back his ſoldiers very unadviſedly, when they were juſt ready to ſtorm the place, and when he ordered them to return to the aſſault, he could never make himſelf obeyed. This prince, as well as Trajan, thought he ſhould have periſhed before that town with all his army. Artaxerxes, the founder of the ſecond monarchy of the Perſians, was not more ſucceſsful, and Providence * ſeemed conſtantly to declare in favour of Hatra. However, the frequent attacks of the Romans, and the danger to which the town was expoſed, eſpecially in the laſt ſiege, might make the Scenites Arabians think, that the liberty, of which they were always ſo jealous, and which they ſtill preſerve, was leſs endangered in their tents than under the ſhelter of the ſtrongeſt walls. They abandoned Hatra We no where read that it was taken, and yet it had been long deſerted when Jovian arrived there. The Romans were now informed, that they had a plain

* In this Dr. Delany, a learned Engliſh divine, thinks he diſcovers the marks of the viſible protection of God to the deſcendants of Iſhmael, agreeably to the promiſes made to Hagar and Abraham, Gen. xvi. and xvii. See the work, entitled, *Revelation examined with Candour*, vol. II. diſſert. IV. E.

of

of thirty leagues to traverſe, where nothing was to be found but wormwood and ſuch kind of herbs, with a little putrid and brackiſh water. They provided therefore ſome freſh water, and killed ſome of the camels and other beaſts of burden, whoſe unwholeſome fleſh prolonged their lives at the expence of health.

In about ſix days march they met, near the caſtle of Ur, a place dependent on the Perſians, a convoy of ſome proviſions, which Jovian, immediately after his election, had ſent the tribune Mauricius to ſeek in Meſopotamia. This weak ſupply, the fruit of the oeconomy of the two generals Procopius and Sebaſtian, enabled the Emperor to recover breath, and to take meaſures to make himſelf acknowledged through the whole empire. He might even conſider this aſſiſtance as an act of obedience on the part of Procopius and his collegue, whoſe ſubmiſſion neceſſarily drew after it that of the Eaſtern provinces. But who could inſure to him the Weſt, till Illyricum and Gaul had acknowledged him? The troops of Illyricum and Gaul had often diſpoſed of the purple, and occaſioned great revolutions. They were indeed leſs formidable ſince the time of Conſtantine. That prince, more on his guard againſt civil wars than againſt the invaſions of the Barbarians, had, by good or bad policy, weakened the authority of the generals by dividing it. He had alſo diſperſed in the inner part of the provinces the legions long ſtationed on the

the frontiers, where the proximity of their quarters placed them within the reach of keeping up correſpondences, of ſecretly forming and ſuddenly executing conſpiracies. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of theſe precautions, the recent examples of Vetranio * in Illyricum, and of Magnentius † and Julian in Gaul, did not allow a doubt that the legions might again make Emperors there; and the diſtance muſt increaſe the uneaſineſs of Jovian.

He diſpatched therefore, with the neceſſary orders to ſecure to him thoſe important provinces, two confidential men, Procopius, ſecretary of ſtate, who muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the relation of Julian, and Memoridus, a tribune. The whole family of Jovian was in Illyricum; his wife, his ſon yet in the cradle, Count Varronian his father, and his father-in-law Count Lucillian. Both, after having quitted the ſervice, enjoyed the repoſe of a quiet life. But the infirmities of age without doubt rendered Varronian incapable of acting, as the orders of the Emperor were addreſſed to Count Lucillian. The meſſengers carried him the com-

* Vetranio, an aged general, beloved for the ſimplicity of his manners, who had long governed the martial countries of Illyricum, aſſumed the purple in 350. But Conſtantius, having ſeduced his troops, and undermined his throne, at an interview with the uſurper, appointed at Sardica, by the defection of his followers, Vetranio was depoſed and baniſhed to Pruſa, where he lived ſix years in the enjoyment of eaſe and affluence. *Abridged from* GIBBON.

† For an account of the uſurpation of Magnentius, ſee Vol. I. p. 175. note *.

miſſion

miſſion of maſter-general of the horſe and foot *. Thus inveſted with two employments which were uſually ſeparated, he was to take with him ſome officers of merit and known fidelity, whoſe names were mentioned in a private dispatch, and to repair immediately to Milan, from thence to watch over the remainder of the Weſt, and to reſort, in caſe of commotions, where-ever the exigence of affairs might require his preſence. The Emperor took from Jovinus the command of the troops in Gaul, and conferred it on Malarich, by nation a Frank, long attached to the ſervice of the Romans. Thus he freed himſelf of a man whoſe ſuperior talents rendered his fidelity ſuſpected, and put in his place, a foreigner, who, not being able to have any pretenſions to the empire, would always conſider the good fortune of his benefactor as the foundation of his own, and would confine his ambition to ſerving him well. The meſſengers had alſo orders to announce on their journey the death of Julian and the election of his ſucceſſor, to convey to the governors of the provinces the letters of Jovian, and to publiſh every where that he had terminated the war by an advantageous peace. They travelled night and day, without ſtopping; but, more expeditious and more ſincere than they, Fame outſtripped them, and declared the truth.

* In M. de la Bleterie, *le brevet de généraliſſime de l'infanterie et de la cavalerie:* in the original of Ammianus, *magiſterii equitum et peditum codicillis.* For obvious reaſons I prefer the latter.

Jovian wrote, without doubt, at the ſame time to the ſenate of New Rome, and eſpecially to that of the Old, which ſtill retained ſome kind of pre-eminence, praying them, at leaſt for form-ſake, to confirm what the army had done in his favour. It was at that time probably, that he nominated himſelf conſul for the enſuing year, with his father Count Varronian, who had learned, in a dream, if we credit Ammianus, that he ſhould be appointed to the conſulſhip, but who certainly knew not that death would prevent his taking poſſeſſion of that high dignity *.

If the Pagans of the army had been ſenſibly affected by the loſs of Julian, it was no leſs diſtreſſing to the others, of whom there were ſuch numbers throughout the empire; and, without doubt, the latter, not being conſtrained by the preſence of their new prince, abandoned themſelves to their grief with more freedom. "This intelligence," ſays Libanius, "was a ſtroke that pierced me to "the heart. I caſt my eyes on a ſword, and wiſhed "to rid myſelf of a life that would henceforth be "more cruel to me than death. But I recollected "the prohibition of Plato, and the puniſhments re-"ſerved in hell for thoſe who diſpoſe of themſelves

* Count Varronian thus dying ſoon after he had heard of his ſon's good fortune, and before he had ſeen him, Jovian declared his infant-ſon Varronian conſul with himſelf, in the room of his grandfather; "becauſe," adds Ammianus, "the old man was foretold in his ſleep that "the higheſt magiſtracy ſhould be borne by that name."

"without

" without waiting for the command of God. Be-
" ſides, I reflected that I owed that hero a funeral
" oration *."

Libanius acquitted himſelf of that duty by conſecrating to the memory of Julian two diſcourſes, which have been tranſmitted to us. The firſt †, which ſeems to have been compoſed immediately, is only a very ſhort and yet ſufficiently tedious lamentation, with more wit than ſentiment, and more pedantry than wit. The ſecond ‡ is an hiſtorical elogium, laboured at leiſure, in which the orator follows Julian ſtep by ſtep, and always ſhews the bright ſide of him. This piece, perhaps the beſt of his works, and worthy, almoſt in every reſpect, of the pureſt antiquity, makes, on the whole, a remarkable contraſt to the eloquent diſcourſe of St. Gregory of Nazianzus §.

At Carrhæ in Meſopotamia, a city entirely devoted to Paganiſm, the meſſenger who brought the firſt account of the death of Julian, was near

* *De vitâ ſuâ.*

† Ιυλιανος, η Επιταφιος επι τω Ιυλιανω. (" A funeral ora-
" tion on Julian.") This diſcourſe was publiſhed imperfectly by Morell; but more correctly, with Latin tranſlation of Olearius, by Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. Vol. VII. p. 223.

‡ Υπερ τω Ιυλιανυ τιμωριας. (" On revenging Julian.") Spoken before the Emperor Theodoſius, 379, firſt publiſhed by Olearius, 1701, and afterwards, with his tranſlation and notes, by Fabricius. See p. 224. note ‡.

§ Though in the editions of this Father the work is divided into two, it is, however, only one and the ſame diſcourſe, as is proved by the judicious writer who has given a French tranſlation of it, printed at Lyons, in 1735, a tranſlation much leſs known than it deſerves to be. B.

being ſtoned to death, and really was ſo, according to Zoſimus. Such was the deſpair of the Pagans. They ſaw their reign vaniſh like a dream, the flattering hopes which they had conceived from the youth and zeal of Julian paſs away in ſmoke, Heleniſm ready to be buried in the tomb of its reſtorer, and the Chriſtian religion again inveſted with the purple, and more ſtrengthened than ever, at the very time when, thinking it arrived at its fatal period, they only waited the return of Julian to give the laſt blow. Many had perſecuted it without diſcretion, and had been betrayed into the greateſt exceſſes. What probability that the moſt moderate Chriſtian prince would let crimes, at which Julian himſelf had been forced to bluſh, paſs with impunity!

On the other ſide, the Church, in the tranſports of a ſudden deliverance, bleſſed by its canticles the God ever faithful to his promiſes, whoſe arm had exterminated the new Sennacherib. But the Chriſtians, it muſt be owned, did not all confine themſelves to the legitimate ſentiments which this kind of reſurrection planted in their hearts. Inſtead of a Chriſtian joy, pure in its motives, humble and modeſt in its effects, mixed with compaſſion for a periſhing enemy, and with fear at the proſpect of proſperity; many gave themſelves up to the merely human emotions of a proud and outrageous joy, and ſeemed already to threaten the vengeance of a religion which teaches only patience and forgiveneſs.

giveneſs. Thoſe of Antioch, perſonal enemies to Julian on ſo many accounts, inſulted at once the memory of the Pagan, the philoſopher, and the author. In this great city, ſo voluptuous, and which thought itſelf ſo Chriſtian, there was nothing but public entertainments, nothing but ſacred and profane feſtivals. In the churches and oratories of the martyrs were ſeen dances, and the tumult of public ſhews; and the theatres reſounded with religious exclamations. There was publiſhed the victory of the croſs; there was apoſtrophiſed, though abſent, the philoſopher Maximus, the oracle and the perverter of Julian. "Fooliſh "Maximus," they exclaimed, "what is become of "thy predictions? God and his Chriſt have con-"quered."

But if the Church triumphed, the empire was covered with diſgrace, and had received a deep wound, of which it never recovered. Thus the tranſports with which the intereſt of religion, eſpecially when joined with animoſity, at firſt inſpired the people, were no ſooner abated, than the public rejoicings gave place to uneaſineſs and alarms. To inveigh againſt Julian, to impute the calamities of the ſtate to his apoſtacy and ſenſeleſs conduct, publickly to expoſe the ſhocking remains of the human victims which he was accuſed of having ſacrificed in his abominable myſteries, this might be a kind of conſolation, but it was not a reſource. Jovian alone gained by it, becauſe he

had the advantage of ſucceeding a prince that was hated, and conſequently reſponſible, in the opinion of the multitude at leaſt, for the firſt faults of his ſucceſſor.

By the ceſſion of the provinces beyond the Tigris, and of Niſibis, Syria was going to become almoſt a frontier, and the city of Antioch remained expoſed, with the reſt of the Eaſt, to the incurſions of the Barbarians. Whoever had ſtill a Roman heart muſt conſider, that for the ſpace of about eleven centuries, neither the annals of the republic, nor thoſe of the monarchy, furniſhed an example of an event ſo grievous, ſo ignominious, all things conſidered, as the treaty of Jovian; that if, in former times, ſome generals had ſubſcribed to diſhonourable conditions, the ſupreme authority, which then reſided in the people, by declaring thoſe treaties null, had made all their infamy fall on their authors; that the majeſty of the empire, after it was concentered in a monarch, had been no doubt deeply humiliated by the captivity of Valerian, who had grown old in the chains of another Sapor; but that this majeſty had degraded and annihilated itſelf in the perſon of Jovian, who had forſaken the fundamental principle of the policy of the Romans, who yielded nothing by force, nor were ever more haughty, or more intractable, than when they ſeemed cruſhed; that this precious maxim, eſcaped from the wreck of the republic and of ancient manners, had ſupported

to

to the preſent day the empire which it had formed; but when that was once abandoned, the Emperors would in future be ſeen ſucceſſively to cede the provinces, to diſmember the ſtate, under a pretence of ſaving it; in ſhort, that it was eaſy to foreſee the fall and total ruin of that vaſt body.

Without extending their views ſo far, the inhabitants of Niſibis, ſufficiently occupied with their own calamity, trembled to ſee themſelves at the mercy of Sapor, and of Sapor provoked. They retained, nevertheleſs, ſome hopes founded on the importance of their fortreſs, their paſt fidelity, and their recent ſervices. They could not believe that Jovian would deliver them to Barbarians; and they flattered themſelves, that if, from a regard to his oaths, he did not dare directly to infringe the treaty, ſenſible at leaſt of the juſtice of their remonſtrances, he would not deprive them of the liberty of defending themſelves againſt an enemy, whom they had already ſo often repulſed.

The army, however, after having conſumed the little proviſions that it had received, again endured ſo ſtrange a famine, that they were on the eve of eating human fleſh. If a buſhel of corn was found by chance, " which happened," Ammianus ſays, " but ſeldom," it was ſold for at leaſt thirteen pieces of gold. By degrees, as the horſes were killed, the arms and baggage were abandoned; ſo that there is perhaps leſs exaggeration than malignity in the picture which Libanius draws of the

ſtate of the troops at their return: "Our ſoldiers," ſays he, "returned without arms, without cloaths. "They aſked alms, being as naked, for the moſt "part, as people who eſcape from ſhipwreck. "If any one retained half his buckler, a third "part of his ſpear, or even one of his boots, which "he carried on his ſhoulder, he conſidered himſelf "as a hero. All thought themſelves ſufficiently "juſtified, by ſaying, that Julian was dead, and "that it was not ſurpriſing that the Romans ſhould "appear in the deplorable ſtate in which the Per-"ſians would have been, if that conqueror had "lived."

It is ſuppoſed, that the army re-entered the territories of the empire at a place named Thiſalphata. It was there, at leaſt, that Procopius and Sebaſtian, with the officers of the troops of Meſopotamia, came to pay their duty to the Emperor, who received them graciouſly. Jovian ſoon repaired to the gates of Niſibis, and encamped under the walls, without liſtening to the prayers of the inhabitants, who conjured him, with reiterated intreaties, to lodge in the palace, like his predeceſſors. He was afraid to ſhew himſelf, and was ſtill more afraid, no doubt, to confine himſelf in a Roman colony, of which he had put the Barbarians in poſſeſſion.

That very evening he committed an act of deſpotiſm more ſuitable to the ſuſpicious character with which he is reproached, than to the delicacy

of

of conſcience on which he piqued himſelf. At the beginning of the night, on his riſing from table, an officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt war at the taking of Maogamalcha *, was put to death. He was dragged out, and thrown into a dry well, where ſtones were heaped over him. He was named *Jovianus*, like the Emperor, and had had ſome votes to ſucceed Julian. To remain a ſubject, after having appeared worthy to reign, is a ſituation ſo delicate, that the greateſt circumſpection is ſcarce ſufficient to ward its dangers. Of this Jovianus was not aware. Ambition or vanity made him utter ſome expreſſions the more ſuſpicious as he occaſionally invited ſome officers to his table; and "to this," ſays Ammianus, "his deſtruction "was certainly owing." The tragical end of this unfortunate man, who ſeems to have been more imprudent than culpable, is related by none of the modern writers who mention Jovian †. I queſtion whether they would have omitted a ſimilar paſſage in the hiſtory of his predeceſſor.

On the next day Bineſes, a lord of the Perſian court, who attended Jovian, to ſerve as an hoſtage, and at the ſame time to urge the execution of the

* Whilſt the Barbarians defended themſelves, ſinging, according to their cuſtom, the praiſes of their king, and braving the Emperor, ſaying, he might ſooner ſcale the walls of heaven than take Maogamalcha, the legions entering by the mouth of the mine, ſurpriſed them, maſſacred them, and threw down the ramparts. B.

† A ſubſequent hiſtorian, Mr. Gibbon, ironically ſtyles it "a *royal* act."

treaty

treaty of peace, escorted, no doubt, by a guard which the Emperor gave him, entered Nisibis, and displayed on the citadel the standard of the Great King. The sight of this fatal flag, and the order which the inhabitants received to retire somewhere else, threw them into the utmost consternation. At first they had imagined, that Jovian had engaged to deliver up the city with all its inhabitants. One would think therefore that it must have been some abatement of their grief to learn that their persons would not fall into the hands of Sapor. But besides their not being able, as I have said, to persuade themselves entirely that this engagement would take place, the banishment, to which they saw themselves condemned, appeared to them as terrible as slavery. Several perhaps would even rather have chosen to live slaves in the bosom of their country, that is, subjects of the kings of Persia, than to preserve in exile, in poverty, in the miseries of a new establishment, a chimerical liberty under the Roman Emperors, princes as absolute in fact * as those who bore the sceptre of Arsaces and Artaxerxes pretended to be by right.

It is very usual with historians, when they relate the ruin of illustrious cities, to recount in few words their origin and the principal events which rendered them distinguished. May I therefore be allowed to say something here of the famous Nisibis,

* Witness the instance just related.

as

as the Romans then loſt it for ever, and as it in a a manner even periſhed itſelf by the total tranſmigration of its citizens? Niſibis, if we may credit the oriental hiſtorians, is the ſiſter and contemporary of Babylon, Nimrod alſo being its founder. According to ſome, he gave it the name of *Chalya*; according to others, that of *Achad*; and it is, ſay theſe, the ſame city of Accad which is mentioned in Geneſis, among thoſe of which the ſon of Cuſh laid the firſt foundations in the land of Shinar. It took afterwards the name of Niſibis; and if we had a right to inſiſt on an uncertain etymology *, we might conjecture that it was already, or then became, a place of ſtrength. One of the kings of Syria who ſucceeded Alexander, gave it the name of Antioch of Mygdonia, and certainly it was ſo called, as may be ſeen in Polybius, (*l.* v.) in the reign of Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great. It was ſituated in the north part of Meſopotamia, two days journey from the Tigris, near mount Maſius, in a pleaſant and fruitful plain, watered by the river Mygdonius, which interſected the city. Notwithſtanding its antiquity, Niſibis does not begin to figure in hiſtory till towards the latter time of the Roman republic.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, having taken it from the Parthians, being himſelf attacked by

* נצב ſignifies, it is ſaid, in Phœnician, "columns, "heaps of ſtones." It means in Hebrew, "a monument, "a ſtatue," &c. but it alſo ſignifies in the Bible "a gar-"riſon, ſtationary ſoldiers." 1 Sam. xiii. 12. B.

Lucullus,

Lucullus, there lodged his treasures. He thought them safe in a city surrounded by two walls all of brick *, of a prodigious thickness, which a broad and deep ditch secured from being undermined, and also put out of the reach of machines. Thus it despised Lucullus, when he ventured to appear before Nisibis in the depth of winter. But by the favour of this contempt, and of a tempestuous night, he carried the place by scaling, sixty-eight years before the Christian æra. After the defeat of Crassus, it again became subject to the kings of Armenia. Occupied by their civil wars, the Romans did not think of retaking it; and the policy of Augustus, who fixed the limits of the empire to the banks of the Euphrates, was a law to his successors till Trajan. Thus for more than a hundred and fifty years the Romans saw without jealousy Nisibis and its territory in the hands of the kings of Armenia, their vassals, or of the kings of Adiabena, vassals of the Parthians. Trajan, the most warlike of the Emperors after Julius Cæsar, exploded the statemaxim introduced by Augustus, and carried his victorious arms far beyond the Euphrates. The taking of Nisibis was one of the first exploits on that side; but Hadrian soon abandoned it, with the

* Nisibis is now reduced to one hundred and fifty houses; the marshy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows, as far as Mosul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, Voyages, tom. ii. p. 300—309. GIBBON.

new

new provinces which Trajan had conquered in the Eaſt.

Lucius Verus, the brother and collegue of Marcus Aurelius, retook it; and in the time of Severus beſieged twice, once by the people of Meſopotamia revolting againſt the Romans, and the other time by Volageſus king of Parthia, it defended itſelf with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that Severus, who firſt firmly eſtabliſhed the Romans in Meſopotamia, not contented with fortifying Niſibis, and making it the capital of a particular province, raiſed it even to the dignity of a colony, and made it take the name of *Septimia*. In the time of Alexander the ſon of Mammea, Artaxerxes, who had juſt dethroned Artabanes, the laſt king of Parthia, and reſtored to the Perſian nation the ſceptre which ſhe had loſt for about 555 years, endeavoured, but ineffectually, to make himſelf maſter of Niſibis.

Under one of the ſucceeding Emperors it was taken either by the ſame Artaxerxes, or his ſon Sapor I.; but by taking it he only procured the younger Gordian the honour of re-conquering it. Julius-Philip, the murderer and ſucceſſor of Gordian, deſerved by ſome benefactions to be conſidered as a new founder of the colony, as on a medal which ſhe cauſed to be ſtruck in honour of Philip, ſhe took the name of *Julia* with that of *Septimia*. The captivity of Valerian, and the effeminacy of Gallienus his unworthy ſon, ceded to Sapor I. moſt of the Aſiatic provinces. It

was neceſſary for another Barbarian, named Odenathus, the chief of ſome Saracens, more Roman than the Emperor himſelf, to take care of the intereſts of the empire; and he ſaved it in the Eaſt. Niſibis firſt ſubmitted to that prince, whoſe ſervices Gallienus rewarded with the title of Auguſtus. It ſeemed again ſeparated from the empire in the reign of Zenobia, the widow of Odenathus; but it was re-united by Aurelian. The Perſians having made themſelves maſters of it after the death of Carus, the terror of the arms of Diocletian forced them to abandon it.

In ſhort, the æra of the glory of Niſibis, and the moſt brilliant parts of its hiſtory, muſt be ſought in the IVth century after Jeſus Chriſt. In the reign of Conſtantius, Sapor II. as has been ſaid, was thrice foiled before its ramparts. Of thoſe three ſieges, the moſt memorable is that of the year 350 *, deſcribed by Julian with no leſs elegance than energy, in his two firſt orations, which the orator has found the ſecret to render intereſting in a certain degree, though they are panegyrics, and the panygyrics of Conſtantius. To give an idea of that ſiege, I will add, that Sapor having learned that the revolt of Magnentius, and the progreſs of that uſurper, called Conſtantius into the Weſt, deſirous of availing himſelf of that juncture, invaded Meſopotamia at the head of an

* The other two ſieges were in 337, and 359, according to Spanheim. Mr. Gibbon, though he refers to this author, has (in his margin) by ſome miſtake, placed the three ſieges in 338, 346, and 350.

innumerable

innumerable army, and that, after having taken ſome caſtles, he on a ſudden inveſted Niſibis. At firſt he beſieged it in form; but neither the ram, nor the mine, nor the tortoiſe, having any effect, he turned the courſe of the river Mydonius, hoping to reduce the inhabitants by drought. From this, happily, the ſprings and the wells preſerved them. The Great King then conceived a deſign worthy of Darius and Xerxes. He ſurrounded the place with a high and ſtrong mound, and ſtopped the river below it. The waters ebbing filled a baſon that was prepared for them, and roſe almoſt as high as the rampart, which was not more above their level than was neceſſary to prevent the city from being overflowed. Sapor then equipped on this lake a fleet of barks filled with machines to batter and ſcour the walls, and with ſoldiers to aſſault them. This new mode of attack continued ſeveral days with an amazing loſs on the ſide of the Barbarians, and with prodigies of intrepidity on the ſide of the Romans, till a weak part of the bank breaking, buried in the waters great numbers of the beſiegers.

Sapor, ſeeing his reputation endangered, ſtopped the Mygdonius above the city, and diſcharged the river againſt the walls, of which it threw down a hundred cubits, 152 feet. Though he played inceſſantly on the breach, the inhabitants raiſed a new wall ſome paces from the old one, with ſuch expedition, and defended it with ſuch vigour, that they repulſed all the aſſaults. The king, in the violence

of

of his paſſion, ſhot an arrow into the ſky to revenge himſelf, as far he could, of the deity himſelf. But he made that impious prince ſtill more ſenſible of his power by an army of gnats, whoſe ſtings ſo enraged the horſes and elephants, that they cruſhed in pieces ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers. At length, after loſing 20,000 men, he burnt his machines, and raiſed the ſiege, which had laſted more than four months. Count Lucillian, who commanded in the city, and St. James, its biſhop *, divided the honour of having ſaved it; the former by his courage and military talents, the latter by his fervent prayers, which he interrupted only to animate his people to fight for their liberty and religion; for they all profeſſed Chriſtianity, of which Sapor was the perſecutor.

Such was the city of Niſibis, which the ſon-in-law of Lucillian ceded to the ſame Sapor. Thoſe, whom he ordered to leave it and give place to Barbarians, were in general the ſame, who, thirteen years before, had ſo well defended it. The ſenate, in a mournful ſilence, and the people uttering lamentable cries, repaired to the camp of the Emperor, and, proſtrate at his feet, ſaid to him every thing that grief and the love of their country ſug-

* The miracles which Theodoret (*l.* II. *c.* 30.) aſcribes to St. James, biſhop of Edeſſa, were at leaſt performed in a worthy cauſe, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman Emperor, and ſent an army of gnats to ſting the trunks of the elephants, and to diſcomfit the hoſt of this new Sennacherib. GIBBON.

geſted

geſted to them moſt affecting. As the whole anſwer that he oppoſed to their ſupplications, to their arguments, to their ſighs, was the ſanctity of an oath; "Sire," ſaid they, "if neceſſity conſtrains "you to cede your rights to Niſibis, do not forbid "us, at leaſt, to ſupport ours, ſword in hand. "We aſk of you neither ſtores, nor troops, nor "money. By conquering Sapor we are all be-"come ſoldiers. Conſider us as foreigners. Aban-"don us to ourſelves, or rather to Heaven, the "protector of juſtice and innocence. That will "continue to render invincible ſuch Romans as "ſhall fight for their altars, for their hearths, for "thoſe walls which they have cemented with their "own blood. After we have repulſed Sapor, the "only uſe that we wiſh to make of our liberty is "to give ourſelves back to you."

Jovian anſwered, that he had expreſsly ſworn to deliver up the city, and that he was incapable of eluding an oath by vain ſubtleties. Then Sabinus, to whom his birth and riches gave a diſtinguiſhed rank among his fellow-citizens, ſaid to him with equal ſpirit and boldneſs: "Conſtantius, "always at war with the Perſians, was almoſt al-"ways unfortunate; he ſhivered at the name of "Sapor, and this terror embittered all the mo-"ments of his life. Conſtantius, however, over-"whelmed with misfortunes, Conſtantius, reduced "to the neceſſity of eſcaping almoſt alone, and of "eating a morſel of bread in the cottage of a

" poor woman, ſtill preſerved Niſibis. What do " I ſay? He never ceded to the enemy an inch " of ground; but Jovian no ſooner comes to the " empire than he ſurrenders the bulwark of the " Eaſt." Jovian heard theſe reproaches unmoved, ſtill intrenching himſelf in arguments drawn from a point of honour and conſcience.

It was cuſtomary for every city to offer new princes a crown of gold. In the critical ſituation to which the inhabitants of Niſibis were reduced, they were particularly careful to perform that duty. The Emperor, who did himſelf juſtice, being very ſenſible that he did not deſerve the crown, eſpecially from them, refuſed that which they preſented to him. But the inhabitants, with a perſeverance proof againſt all refuſals, conjured him to receive it, thinking, without doubt, that he would allow himſelf to be affected by that mark of attachment and reſpect, and that, if he accepted their homage, he would contract a kind of engagement with them. Jovian, in order to extricate himſelf from their importunity, ſeemed at length to accept it; and inſtantly a lawyer, named Silvanus, exclaimed, with a loud voice, " In like manner, great Emperor, " may you be crowned by the other cities!" At this ſpeech he was ſo exaſperated, that he immediately ordered the inhabitants to evacuate the city in three days, and ſent ſome troops to haſten them, with orders to put any to death who ſhould remain there after the time preſcribed.

This terrible decree filled Nifibis with conſternation. Inſtantly nothing was heard but groans, cries, imprecations againſt the government, and frightful howlings. To ſee ſome women of rank forced by their ſovereign to baniſh themſelves from the ſcenes of their birth, from the places where they had happily paſſed their days in the boſom of opulence, forced, I ſay, to abandon all their poſſeſſions, and, what was more diſtreſsful, to remove for ever from the tombs of their huſbands, their parents, their children, whoſe aſhes remained at the diſcretion of the Barbarians, was a ſight capable of moving Sapor, if he had been preſent. Sometimes they tore their hair and their faces, ſometimes they claſped in their arms the doors of their houſes, bathing them with tears, and bidding them a laſt farewell. In a word, there was ſeen the image of a city taken by aſſault, and all the ſymptoms of grief and deſpair which great calamities produce among the orientals, whoſe paſſions were always more expreſſive than ours. But who could deſcribe the anguiſh of heart which muſt be felt by thoſe brave men who had ſuſtained three ſieges, and who would have thought themſelves happy to ſhed the remainder of their blood for a country, which they conſidered not only as the place of their birth, but alſo as the theatre of their glory, and the monument of their valour! Every one ſeized in his haſte, and as if he had ſtolen it, any thing, that he could carry away, of his own effects;

for, to complete their misfortunes, beaſts of burden were wanting, ſo that a large quantity of valuable furniture was obliged to be left.

The roads were ſoon covered with theſe poor fugitives, who, groaning under their burdens, and ſtill more oppreſſed by the weight of their affliction, were going to ſeek the firſt aſylum that providence ſhould be pleaſed to offer them. Moſt of them retired under the walls of Amida, where Jovian ordered a walled ſuburb to be built for them, which was called the town of Niſibis. Amida, founded by Conſtantius, and almoſt ruined by Sapor, thus increaſed by the ruins of this ancient city, and repaired its loſſes with ſo much advantage, that it became the capital of what the Romans retained in Meſopotamia. As ſoon as the inhabitants of Niſibis were departed, Jovian diſpatched the tribune Conſtantius to expell thoſe of Singara, another Roman colony, and to deliver the five provinces to the officers of Sapor. Thus this famous treaty was literally executed, a treaty, which may be regarded as the epocha of the fall of the empire, and whoſe execution expoſed Jovian, more than the treaty itſelf, to the reproaches not only of Pagan, but of ſome Chriſtian authors. Are their reproaches well founded? This is a problem, whoſe diſcuſſion will be more properly placed at the end of this hiſtory *.

After

* The Abbè de la Bleterie, though a ſevere caſuiſt, has pronounced, that Jovian was not bound to execute his promiſe;

After having fulfilled his engagements with the Perſians, the Emperor ordered Procopius to convey to Tarſus in Cilicia the corpſe of Julian, agreeably to the laſt will of that prince. In the funeral proceſſion, which muſt have been a fortnight at leaſt on the road, the cuſtoms of the Pagans were obſerved, of which the moſt fantaſtic was, to enliven the funeral pomp of the great, and even of the Emperors, at the expence of thoſe whom they pretended to honour. They added humour and ſatire to the demonſtrations of grief. Here were heard mournful ſongs and lamentations, and tears were ſeen to flow: there drolls and buffoons danced and acted ſome jocoſe ſcenes, or one of the troop, in a maſk which repreſented to the life him whoſe obſequies were celebrated, imitated his geſture and his voice *, and made him utter, in a ludricrous ſtrain, the language moſt proper to characteriſe him. The inferior perſonages loaded

promiſe; ſince he *could not* diſmember the empire, nor alienate, without their conſent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or inſtruction in ſuch political metaphyſics. GIBBON.

Not being convinced or edified by the Abbè's reaſoning, I have not tranſlated his diſſertation.

* Of this we are informed by Suetonius in the following remarkable paſſage; "At the funeral of Veſpaſian, Favo, "the chief of the comedians, who played his part, and imi- "tated, as is cuſtomary, his words and actions while alive, "aſked the managers of the ſolemnity aloud, "What "would be the expence of the funeral pomp?" and they "anſwering, 'a hundred millions of ſeſterces,' the pretended "Veſpaſian exclaimed, "if they would give him but a "hundred ſeſterces, they might throw him into the river." B.

this principal performer with railleries and affronts. The pretended Julian muſt have been highly ridiculous, as the copy was always more extravagant than the original. Neither the faults of that unfortunate prince, nor perhaps his good qualities, were ſpared. He was reproached in the bittereſt terms for his apoſtacy, his temerity, his defeat, his death. To conceive how far the licentiouſneſs was carried, it muſt be remembered that the actors revenged themſelves on the enemy of the ſtage, and that they were ſure of the applauſe of the Chriſtians.

As ſoon as Procopius had acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion, alarmed at the fate of Jovianus, and at the falſe report that was ſpread, that Julian, his relation, had wiſhed, at the point of death, to have him for his ſucceſſor, he thought that his life was in danger. He therefore ſecreted himſelf, and had the art to elude the ſearches of Jovian, and afterwards thoſe of Valens. About two years after the death of Julian, he appeared again in order to aſcend the throne, from which he fell almoſt the ſame inſtant *.

From Niſibis Jovian took the road to Antioch, and came to Edeſſa, which ſhould have been dear to him for the ſame reaſon † that had made it odious to his predeceſſor. He was in that city on the 27th of September, according to the date of a

* See p. 221. note †.

† Julian would not paſs through Edeſſa, becauſe that city was ſtrongly attached to Chriſtianity. B.

law,

law *, which excuſes the ſoldiers from going to forage more than twenty miles, or one day's journey, from the camp. Julian, the reſtorer of military diſcipline, had obliged them to go in ſearch of it to that diſtance; but perhaps ſome officers ſent them ſtill farther. Jovian, intereſted in conciliating the affection of the troops, delivered or preſerved them from that fatigue, to which there was no right to oblige them; and the ſpirit of his law agrees exactly with that of Julian.

The Emperor continuing his march by long ſtages, and received very ſorrowfully on his route, entered Antioch in the month of October, and could not diſpenſe with making ſome ſtay there, notwithſtanding his impatience to go and ſhew himſelf at Conſtantinople, and afterwards, no doubt, in the provinces of the Weſt. His troops were in extreme want of repoſe. Antioch, the abode of plenty, and the centre of all the conveniences of life, was the propereſt place in the world to recover them; and prudence did not yet allow Jovian to ſeparate himſelf from an army, whoſe ſuffrages were the only right that he had to the empire.

During ſix weeks, more or leſs, that he paſſed in the capital of the Eaſt, he applied himſelf chiefly to regulate what concerned religion. That

* This law is dated in the conſulſhip of Jovian and Varronian, and conſequently the date is falſe, at leaſt in that reſpect. It is well known, that the dates marked in the Theodoſian code are ſo faulty, that ſcarce any ſtreſs can be laid on them. B.

portion of public affairs, ſo eſſential and always ſo delicate, then required extreme diſcretion. Julian, with his pretended toleration, which had been no more in fact than a perſecution aukwardly diſguiſed, in which the injuſtice of oppreſſion was aggravated by the inſolence of diſhoneſty, had in a manner ſet all the ſubjects of the empire at variance. The people were incenſed againſt the people; cities were divided; families were diſunited; the ferment of minds was ſo violent, that it ſeemed as if it could not be calmed but by the extinction of one of the parties. The unexpected revolution, which again gave the Chriſtians a prince of their religion, was not ſufficient to reſtore tranquillity. There was room to fear, that, under the appearance of zeal, the animoſity of ſome ill-informed Chriſtians, indulging itſelf in ſome unworthy repriſals, might drive the Pagans, with whom patience was founded on no religious principle, to extremities. Already the temples were every where * ſhut; the blood of victims flowed no longer; the prieſts of the idols abſconded; the philoſophers trimmed their beards, and quitted the cloak, to reſume the common dreſs. This was not a panic fear: they had unworthily abuſed their credit. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, at the concluſion of his diſcourſe againſt Julian, exhorts to the for-

* Τα ιερα των Ελληνων παντα απεκλειεῖο. Suppoſing that Socrates is not miſtaken in ſaying that the temples were every where ſhut, this could not have happened before the law which we ſhall preſently mention. B.

giveneſs

giveneſs of injuries in a manner that would induce a belief, that, on that occaſion, he conſidered obedience to the precept as a great effort of virtue. One would be apt to think, that, though he inveighs with ſuch warmth againſt the Pagans, and againſt the memory of Julian, it is a ſtroke of Chriſtian policy; and that by taking, as it were, in the name of the church, and by public authority, a lawful vengeance, he means to prevent and diſarm that of individuals.

The war kindled between the Chriſtians and Pagans was not the only one of which religion was either the pretext or the cauſe. Not to mention ſome ſects that were obſcure or of little account *, every thing that bore the Chriſtian name was divided between the faith of Nice and the hereſy of Arius. The moſt vehement controverſies are often no more than diſputes on words. Here, under the appearance of diſputes on words †, and even on letters, there were real diviſions as to fundamental tenets; and the diſputes were managed with as much animoſity, as if incomprehenſible truths had been in queſtion. The Arians, whom the favour of Conſtantius had put in poſſeſſion of the churches of Conſtantinople, and of the principal

* Such as the Valentinians, the Marcionites, the Montaniſts, the Manicheans. B.

† The terms ομοουσιος, "conſubſtantial," "of the ſame ſubſtance," conſecrated by the council of Nice, and ομοιουσιος, "like in ſubſtance," which moſt of the Arians admitted, only differ an iota more or leſs. B.

lees

ſees of the Eaſt, ſubdivided into pure Arians and demi-Arians, agreed only againſt the Catholics. In leſs than fifty years they had made ſixteen formularies of faith *, and it was doubted whether they had made the laſt. Arianiſm was a cruel ſect, and even by that, according to St. Athanaſius †, bore on its front a mark of reprobation. To cruelty it knew how to add cunning and artifice. Deceived by its equivocal forms ‡, under Conſtantius the whole world was ſurpriſed to find itſelf Arian without thinking of it; but error did not long enjoy this imaginary triumph. A reunion founded on duplicity had only produced a more cruel diviſion.

On the other ſide, thoſe who acknowledged the divinity of the Word, did not all agree as to the reſt. Some, by an exceſs of delicacy, rejected the term "conſubſtantial," as not being in ſcripture; and though they admitted the tenet meant by that word, all had not, like Athanaſius §, equity enough to compaſſionate their weakneſs, and to reckon them among the orthodox.

An obſtinate ſchiſm, formed by miſtake, and perpetuated by imprudence, rent the city of

* The enumeration of them may be ſeen in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of M. Fleury, l. xiv. 23. B.

† *Ath. Hiſt. Arian. ad Monachos*, t. 1. p. 382. *Edit. Bened.* B.

‡ At the Council of Rimini. B.

§ *Athan. de Synodis*, l. 11. p. 755. B.

Antioch.

Antioch *. There were ſeen two Catholic biſhops, beſides one Arian. At Conſtantinople, and elſewhere,

* In the year 330, under the reign of Conſtantine, having ſucceeded in depoſing and baniſhing St. Euſtathius, biſhop of Antioch, the moſt zealous of the Catholics began to hold their ſeparate aſſemblies. As they ſtill acknowledged Euſtathius, the name of Euſtathians was given them. The ſee was ſucceſſively filled by ſeveral biſhops, more or leſs attached to the Arian cabal, with whom the great number of Catholics of Antioch, either through love of peace, or from weakneſs, did not fail to communicate. Things remained in this ſtate during the reign of Conſtantius. But in 361 (the laſt year of that prince) Anianus, the Arian biſhop, having been baniſhed, and, beſides, Euſtathius having died in his exile, they were deſirous to elect a biſhop who might re-unite the church of Antioch. The Arians and the moderate Catholics caſt their eyes on Meletius, the moſt amiable and moſt peaceable of men. Every one thought him of his own party. But in that the Arians were miſtaken. Meletius was no ſooner elected than he declared for the Catholic faith. The Euſtathians, however, obſtinately reſolved not to acknowledge him, becauſe the Arians had had great ſhare in his election. On the other ſide, the Arians, enraged at being deceived in him, cauſed him to be baniſhed a month after, to the great regret of the moderate Catholics, who, retaining an inviolable attachment to the holy biſhop, would no more aſſemble, as they had hitherto done in the churches of the Arians, and offered to unite themſelves with the Euſtathians, or zealous Catholics. But theſe refuſed to admit them to their communion. There were then at Antioch therefore three parties; the Arians, the Euſtathians, and the Meletians. After the death of Conſtantius, in 362, Lucifer, of Cagliari in Sardinia, whom that prince had baniſhed into Syria, a man celebrated for his courage, and his ſufferings in the good cauſe, but whoſe views were too confined, ordained as biſhop the prieſt Paulinus, whom the Euſtathians already conſidered as their head. Lucifer thought that the Meletians, more pacific than the others, would accept Paulinus, who, beſides, was very worthy of the prelacy; but

where, the Macedonians *, orthodox, at leaſt in appearance, as to the conſubſtantiality of the Son, denied that of the Holy Ghoſt. The Donatiſts, thinking that there was no church, or even ſacraments, out of their ſociety, carried fanaticiſm in Africa to a decree of madneſs. The Novatians †, whoſe hereſy was to erect a deſperate rigour into an article of faith, kept up ſome good underſtanding with the Catholics, who diſtinguiſhed them extremely from the other ſectaries; and it may be ſaid, that they merited that diſtinction by the purity of their manners, and by their attachment to the ancient doctrine as to the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. They had ſupported with heroic courage the Arian perſecutions: but ſome had ſhewn ‡, that for the defence of their faith they knew how to employ other arms than thoſe of true Chriſtians.

As the moſt natural effect of a foreign war is to ſuſpend civil diſſentions; in ſpite of the artifices of

but this imprudent ſtep only ſerved to put an end to the ſchiſm. Thus there were ſeen in the ſame city three biſhops, Euzoius the Arian, Meletius, returned from his exile, and Paulinus, both Catholics. This diviſion did not terminate till long after, under biſhop Alexander, to whom the Euſtathians re-united themſelves in 415. B.

* So named from Macedonius, archbiſhop of Conſtantinople. B.

† The Novatians did not admit to penitence thoſe who had fallen after baptiſm. B.

‡ Under Conſtantius the Novatian peaſants of Mantinium in Paphlagonia, armed with ſcythes and axes, cut in pieces four companies of ſoldiers, who had been ſent to oblige them to embrace Arianiſm. B.

Julian

Julian to foment the flame of diſcord, there appeared in his reign between the moſt oppoſite communions a kind of truce reſembling peace. Excepting only the Donatiſts, who committed exceſſes againſt the Catholics, for which the magiſtrates thought it their duty to account to the Emperor; excepting, I ſay, thoſe madmen, the Chriſtians had ſeemed to forget their domeſtic diviſions, and to employ themſelves in concert in offering up prayers for their common deliverance. But as ſoon as the election of a Chriſtian prince was known, the ſlumbering diſputes began to awaken, and the chiefs of the different communions were eagerly deſirous of going to meet the Emperor as ſoon as he was in the Roman territories; either to engage him, or at leaſt to render him favourable to their party.

Amidſt ſuch a diverſity of opinions, Jovian, as I have already ſaid, had the happineſs to know the truth. He had preferred Chriſtianity to his fortune, and openly profeſſed the Catholic doctrine. If the purity of his manners did not perhaps anſwer to that of his faith, at leaſt he ardently wiſhed, it cannot be doubted, to ſee all his ſubjects re-united in the boſom of the true religion. But Jovian was too well inſtructed in the nature of religion itſelf to offer violence to any one. A confeſſor of the faith become a perſecutor would have been a kind of prodigy. Who ſhould be better acquainted with the rights of conſcience than he

who himſelf had been obliged to claim them? He was convinced that faith perſuades, but does not command; that to employ fire and ſword, in the progreſs of the goſpel, is to combat at once the ſpirit of the goſpel, and the principles of reaſon; that fear only makes hypocrites; that God rejects forced homage, and that if he diſapproves error, he deteſts perjury; that the excellence of the end propoſed cannot ſanctify unlawful means; that, beſides, in order to ſucceed, the means muſt be ſuited to the end, and thus that conſciences can no more be carried by force of arms than ramparts by arguments *.

But, beſides, if Jovian had thought it lawful and poſſible to convert men by the dread of puniſhments and death, it would have been riſking too much at the beginning of a new reign to irritate the Arians, who ſtill retained, among the Chriſtian communions, that air of ſuperiority which had been given them by the protection and favour of Conſtantius. It would have been ſtill more dangerous to attack Paganiſm in front, which, under Julian, had recovered ſtrength, and had even become again the religion of the ſtate. It muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Pagans, ſeeing themſelves at the

* Theſe truly Proteſtant doctrines flow from the pen of a nominal Papiſt, but are as different from thoſe of the murderers of Cranmer in former times, and of thoſe of Calas in the preſent, as light from darkneſs. Such liberal ſentiments in ſome ages and countries would have conſigned the author to the Inquiſition.

diſcretion

diſcretion of a prince who was a zealous enemy to idolatry, were extremely alarmed, and that many expreſſed ſo much uneaſineſs as to occaſion ſome to that weakly eſtabliſhed prince. With a view therefore to confirm them, and alſo to confirm himſelf, he haſtened to make a law, by which he maintained them in the free exerciſe of their religion, and permitted them to re-open the temples, where, by forcible means, and without the authority of the prince, they had been ſhut ſince the death of Julian.

" You underſtand," ſays Themiſtius, a Pagan philoſopher and ſenator of Conſtantinople *, in a panegyric on Jovian, which he pronounced before him, " that there are ſome things which a ſo-" vereign cannot reſtrain. Among theſe are the " virtues, and eſpecially religion. A prince, " who ſhould make an edict to enjoin his ſubjects " to love him, would not be obeyed. Could he " flatter himſelf with being ſo for commanding " them to have ſuch or ſuch a religious perſuaſion? " Fear, without doubt, will effect tranſient meta-" morphoſes. But ſhall we conſider as men con-" vinced, thoſe men more changeable than Eu-" ripus †, perſuaded by their variations to be the " adorers of the purple, and not of the divinity, " thoſe ridiculous Proteuſes who diſhonour human " kind, and who are ſometimes ſeen in the temples

* See the Epiſtle to him, Vol. I. p. 4.

† This narrow ſea, between Bœotia and Eubœa, ebbed and flowed ſeven times in 24 hours, or oftener, or ſeldomer, as the wind ſat.

" at

" at the feet of the ſtatues and altars, and ſome-
" times at the holy table in the churches of the
" Chriſtians? Thus, inſtead of uſing violence, you
" have made a law which allows every one to pay
" to the Deity the worſhip which he ſhall think
" the beſt. As the image of the Supreme Being,
" you imitate his conduct. He has placed in the
" heart of man a natural inclination which leads
" him to religion; but he does not force him in
" the choice. Thus the coërcive laws, which
" tended to deprive man of a liberty which God
" leaves him, have laſted at moſt during the lives
" of their authors; inſtead of which, your law,
" or rather that of God himſelf, ſubſiſts in all
" ages. Neither confiſcations, nor exiles, nor
" puniſhments can annull it. The body may be
" impriſoned, tormented, deſtroyed; but the ſoul
" takes her flight: ſhe eſcapes from violence, bear-
" ing in herſelf this indelible law, this liberty of
" thinking, of which it is impoſſible to deprive
" her, though the tongue ſhould be forced
" to articulate ſome words. . . . . The wiſdom
" of your edict allays our cruel diviſions. This,
" Emperor, beloved by God, you know better
" than any one: The Perſians were leſs formidable
" to the Romans than the Romans themſelves; the
" incurſions of thoſe Barbarians leſs dangerous than
" the accuſations ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of party
" to deſtroy citizens. Continue to hold the ba-
" lance even. Allow all mouths to addreſs prayers
" to heaven for the proſperity of your empire. . .

" A law

" A law ſo juſt muſt penetrate all the ſubjects of
" our divine monarch with reſpect and love, thoſe,
" among others, to whom not contented to reſtore
" liberty, he explains the tenets of their religion
" as well as the ableſt of their teachers."

Thus, in the preſence of Jovian himſelf, ſpoke Themiſtius, one of the moſt illuſtrious magiſtrates of his age, and deputed by the body to harangue the Emperor. His authority ſufficiently authenticates the law of Jovian, though it no longer exiſts, and though other writers ſeem to have been ignorant of it. The panegyrics of princes ſometimes praiſe them for virtues which they do not poſſeſs, but never for laws which they have not made. It cannot be denied that Themiſtius, in the diſcourſe, part of which I have juſt quoted, lays down, on occaſion of that law, ſome very philoſophical and even very Chriſtian maxims. But as truth is very ſeldom found in the mouths of Pagans without any mixture of error, to the ſolid arguments which condemn cruelty and violence he adds the pretended impoſſibility of knowing how the Deity would be adored, and the imaginary honour which redounds to the Supreme Being from the variety of worſhips which divide the world. This philoſopher confounds political toleration with indifference, while Jovian, by the light of the goſpel, perfectly diſtinguiſhes them.

The ſame edict, which permitted the temples to be re-opened, ordered the abominable ſanctuaries

of impoſtures and witchcraft to be ſhut. It ſuffered the public ſacrifices, and the worſhip formerly authoriſed, to remain; but it forbade enchantments, magic, and all worſhip viſibly founded on impoſture. Though the Roman laws had always condemned theſe practices, the fooliſh ſuperſtition and credulity of Julian had brought them extremely into faſhion. The wiſeſt among the Pagans muſt greatly praiſe his ſucceſſor for the care which he took to proſcribe what they deemed foreign to their religion, and likely to do it diſcredit. It ſeemed to them, no doubt, performing a legitimate act of the pontifical power, which they ſtill aſcribed to the Chriſtian Emperors, and of which Conſtantine had uſefully availed himſelf, to effect the deſtruction of idolatry.

Properly ſpeaking, the Pagan religion had no dogmas; it conſiſted of a heap of practics, and the Sovereign Pontiff had a right to ſuppreſs ſuch as he thought abuſive *. Conſtantine therefore having formed the plan of diſſolving it by little and little, and of deſtroying it by degrees, without ſhocking the Pagans, had confined it within very narrow bounds, by retrenching ſometimes a worſhip contrary to good manners, ſometimes a ſuſpicious practice; here ſubverting a temple that was become the ſchool of libertiniſm, there inter-

* See the Diſſertation of the Baron de la Baſtie, on the Sovereign Pontificate of the Roman Emperors (Part III.) in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres*, t. XV. B.

dicting

dicting an oracle whose priests manifestly abused the public credulity. It appears that Jovian did not pretend to tolerate Paganism but in the state to which Constantine had reduced it. On that footing only it could in fact be suffered, and the moderate Pagans required nothing more.

The political toleration of Jovian was effective and sincere. Instead of seeking pretences to disturb the Pagans, he did not avail himself of the most natural occasions. He might, without injustice, have abandoned to the severity of the laws several priests of the idols, and the philosophers who had abused the confidence of Julian. Nevertheless, it is not to his reign that the rigours which, Libanius says *, were exercised against them, must be

* As Libanius did not pronounce his second funeral oration on Julian till eighteen months after the death of that prince, and consequently more than ten months after the death of Jovian, I know not why M. de Tillemont applies to the reign of the latter the bitter complaints of that orator. "At present," says that orator, (*Orat. Parent.* 148, *et seq.*) "those who declaim against the Gods are treated "with respect, while the priests, those who are only guilty "of serving the Gods, undergo unjust trials. That which "they have employed in divine worship, that which the "flame has consumed on the altars, they are forced to "surrender. Are they unable to pay? They languish in "fetters. The temples have been destroyed, or remain "half-built, to serve as a ridicule for Christians. The "philosophers are put to the torture. To have received "something from the Emperor is to have contracted a "debt. What do I say? It is to have committed a theft. "In the midst of summer, at noon-day, a man is exposed "quite naked to the heat of the sun. Besides what he

" has received, he is aſked what every one ſees he has not " received. It is well known that this is to require an " impoſſibility; but it is a pleaſure to burn him; he muſt " expire in this horrible torture. The profeſſors of elo- " quence, accuſtomed to live with the great, are driven " from their doors, like infamous murderers. That nu- " merous ſwarm of young diſciples who always accom- " pany them, ſeeing their maſters thus treated, conceive " that knowledge is good for nothing, and ſeek a better " protection. In every city the members of the public " council unjuſtly diſpenſe with the ſervice, which their " country has a right to expect from them; and no one " checks ſo outrageous a diſorder. Nothing is every where " ſeen but exactions, forced ſales, confiſcations, indigence, " poverty, tears. The labourer chooſes rather to beg than " to cultivate the earth. He who to-day gives alms, to- " morrow will be obliged to aſk them. The Scythians, the " Sarmatians, the Celts, in a word, all the Barbarians be- " gin again to inſult us on all ſides," &c.

The odious ſtrokes of this picture do not relate to Jovian. Indeed, during his reign, the biſhops, and other Chriſtian preachers, were in great eſteem, and ſpoke againſt Paganiſm with full liberty. It is alſo very poſſible, that at the news of his election, in places where the Chriſtians were the ſtrongeſt, the populace might deſtroy ſome temples. Thoſe which Julian was building remained unfiniſhed, becauſe Jovian would not furniſh the expence, and the zeal of idolaters cooled. I alſo ſuppoſe that Libanius, and his fellows, did not find the ſame acceſs to the great: ſome magiſtrate might have refuſed him admittance; a very ſenſible affront to that ſophiſt, who treated Julian as an equal. But this is all that can reaſonably be aſcribed to the reign of Jovian. According to Libanius, it was " the height of " ſummer," (μεσα θερους) when the philoſophers were perſecuted. Now Jovian did not enter on the territories of the empire till towards the beginning of autumn, and died before the end of winter. Beſides, the philoſopher tormented ſo cruelly is plainly the famous Maximus. But Priſcus and he were brought to trial at the beginning of the reign of Valentinian and Valens.

As to what Libanius ſays of the venality of exemptions, and of the oppreſſion of the people, no author reproaches Jovian with any thing like it; on the contrary, the patrician Petronius,

be aſcribed. It is true, that, after the death of Julian, their protector and their dupe, ſome philoſophers were called to a ſevere account for the immenſe ſums, which, it was ſaid, they had drawn from him; and this perhaps is the only time that the royal treaſure has purſued men of letters. But thoſe enquiries were not made till the reign of Valens. Eunapius, alſo a Pagan, and as plaintive as Libanius, affirms that Jovian continued to honour the philoſophers * who were in the train of his predeceſſor. We may at leaſt conclude, from that expreſſion, that he had ſome regard for them. Themiſtius reckons as a merit in him his protecting philoſophy at a time when almoſt every one elſe declared againſt it, and recalling it to court in a leſs diſgraceful habit. Fear had at firſt driven the philoſophers from it; but they ſoon recovered their courage; and Jovian allowed them to appear there again, but in the common dreſs. It may, however, be preſumed, that they were not ſeen there with a very gracious eye, and that they muſt

Petronius, the father-in-law of Valens, a monſter of avarice and cruelty, rendered immediately the government of his ſon-in-law highly odious, and ruined a multitude of families, by enquiring what was due to the treaſury for near a century paſt. See Amm. xxvi. 6. In ſhort, the two brothers reigned when the Barbarians, being no longer reſtrained by the fear of Julian, again took up arms. Thoſe people had ſcarce had time to hear of his death, and to make ſome preparations, during the reign of Jovian. B.

* Τιμων τους ανδρας διεκλεσεν. *Illos viros honore proſequi non deſtitit.*

ſuffer ſome mortifications, and perhaps inſults, from the courtiers, which the Emperor did not take the trouble to avenge; and that, if I miſtake not, is the meaning of what Themiſtius ſays, in a diſcourſe addreſſed to Valens; that "it is a ſtain to "the glory of Jovian to have ſuffered inſults to "be offered them, though, as to himſelf, he offered "them none."

Libanius continued inceſſantly to bewail Julian, and to praiſe him in his writings. Some would have made it a ſtate crime, and Jovian was adviſed to ſend him to conſole himſelf with his hero. But he thought it beneath an Emperor to trouble himſelf with what a ſophiſt might write. He was ſenſible alſo that by putting an author to death, his works, inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, are aſſured of immortality. As Jovian ſpared a Maximus and a Libanius, we may judge what tranquillity was enjoyed by ſuch Pagans as could be reproached with nothing but their religion. It is certain, that at Conſtantinople ſacrifices were publickly offered for the ſolemnity of the conſulſhip of Jovian.

If this prince, in quality of common father and chief of the body politic, thought himſelf obliged not to reſtrain the conſciences of his ſubjects, he did not forget that he owed a ſtriking protection to the religious ſociety of which he was a member. It appears by his medals that he replaced in the

Labarum * the monogram of Jesus Christ. Not content with having thus declared that Christianity was the religion of the empire, he formally declared by a letter †, which he wrote to the governors

* The principal standard which displayed the triumph of the cross was styled the *Labarum*, or *Laborum*, an obscure though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described as a long pike intersected by a transverse beam. The silken veil, which hung down from the beam, was curiously enwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold, which inclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ. The safety of the Laborum was entrusted to fifty guards of approved valour and fidelity. GIBBON.

Julian had replaced in the standards the antient Latin letters, S. P. Q. R.

† This letter, mentioned by Sozomen, is, I fancy, the very law of which Themistius gives the elogium. He says, plainly enough, that this law was the first of those of Jovian; and Sozomen asserts, that Jovian did not defer a moment (ωδὲν μελλησας) to write to the generals of the provinces. It is probable, that the law contained two heads. The Emperor there declared, first, that the Christian religion was that of the state, &c. Secondly, that he did not pretend to deprive any one of the liberty of following and exercising any other, &c. The Pagan philosopher dwells only on the second head, which was advantageous to the Pagans: the ecclesiastical historian mentions only the first, which favoured the Christians. Each of them comments in his own way on the article which interests him, and gives it too much latitude. In reading Themistius, one would think that Jovian had put all religions on the same level; but Sozomen, whose text I am far from understanding rigorously, says, that this prince declared Christianity the only religion of his subjects. M. de Tillemont did not know how to reconcile the law that Themistius mentions

nors of the provinces, all Pagans no doubt, as they had been put or left in place by Julian; enjoining them to act so that the Christians might assemble in the churches: for in several places they had either been destroyed or converted to profane uses. He recalled all who had been banished on account of religion, restored to the clergy, to virgins, and to widows the privileges granted by the Christian Emperors, and re-established the distribution of corn which the demesne allowed to every church for the subsistence of widows and orphans. The famine which then afflicted the empire obliged him to reduce to one-third that pious donation of Constantine; but he promised to give the remainder at the first return of plenty.

He made also a law, which we still have; addressed to Sallust the Second, Præfect of the prætorium of the East, denouncing capital punishment to those who should dare to steal away, or even solicit in marriage, the virgins consecrated to God *.

These

with that referred to by Sozomen. I flatter myself that this learned writer would have approved the method of agreement here proposed. B.

The Abbé de la Bleterie judiciously remarks, that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration, and Themistius the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked, and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honourable, in his opinion, to the Emperor Jovian. GIBBON.

* The following are the very terms of the law. *Imp. Jovianus A. ad secundum P. P. Si quis, non dicam rapere, sed vel atten-*

Theſe ſcandalous marriages had grown common under Julian. To accompliſh them, ſome had employed violence, and others ſeduction. An officer, named Magnus, the ſame who was, under Valens, and perhaps from the time of Julian, treaſurer of the Emperor's houſhold *, had burned, by his private authority, the church of Beryta in Phœnicia. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory repreſents Count Magnus † as unprin-

attentare, matrimonii jungendi cauſa, ſacratas virgines vel invitas auſus fuerit, capitali ſententiâ feriatur. Dat. XI. Kal. Mar. Antiochiæ, Joviano A. et Varroniano Coſs. Inſtead of *invitas*, we ſhould perhaps read *invitare*. Sozomen ſeems to have read *intueri*, as he tranſlates the Latin word by theſe; ακολαστως προσϐλεπουσα, *impudicè aſpicientem*. There is no probability that this was the ſenſe. The date of this law is alſo falſe, like a number of others. Jovian did not take the conſulſhip till a month at ſooneſt after his leaving Antioch; and, beſides, he was no longer in this world on the 19th of February, 364, as he died between the 16th and 17th of that month. B.

The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns, is exaggerated by Sozomen; who ſuppoſes that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was puniſhed with death by the evangelic legiſlator. GIBBON.

* Thus, I think, *Comes largitionum comitatenſium* ſhould be tranſlated. B.

† It was he who, in the time of Valens and of the governor Palladius, perſecuted by an inferior order the Catholics of Alexandria, to oblige them to receive the biſhop Lucius. Having cauſed nineteen, as well prieſts as deacons, to be apprehended and brought before his tribunal, ſome of whom were more than fourſcore years of age, he ſaid to them, "Embrace, wretches, embrace the opinion of "the Arians. If your religion be true, God will pardon "you for having yielded to neceſſity. You will pleaſe the "moſt clement, auguſt Valens." After having put them in

unprincipled, a ſlave to the court, ardent to diſtinguiſh himſelf in all perſecutions, and committing with the baſeneſs of a ſubaltern ſome crimes of ſupererogation. He was very near being beheaded by Jovian. Powerful interceſſions obtained his pardon; but he was condemned to re-build the church of Beryta at his own expence.

Athanaſius, the perſonal object of the hatred and perſecution of Julian, hearing of the death of that prince, had on a ſudden re-appeared in the midſt of his people, who were agreeably ſurpriſed. As the orders of Julian had not then been revoked, a Pagan or an Arian might have made an attempt on the perſon of the holy prelate. How was it known whether the new Emperor would not be diſpleaſed that Athanaſius ſhould ſhew himſelf publickly in Alexandria, without the leave of the ſame authority which had baniſhed him from all Ægypt? But his fears were immediately diſpelled by a letter from Jovian, conceived in theſe terms: "To the moſt religious friend of God, Athanaſius, "Jovian. As we admire beyond all expreſſion the "ſanctity of your life, in which ſhine forth the

in priſon, and cauſed them to be ſcourged and tormented, he baniſhed them into an idolatrous country, made them ſet out immediately, urging them himſelf, ſword in hand, without giving them time to take neceſſaries, without waiting till the ſea became calm, without being moved by the cries and tears of the whole Catholic people. *Epiſtola Petri Alexandrini apud Theodoret.* l. IV. 22. B.

"marks

" marks of reſemblance to the God of the uni-
" verſe *, and your zeal for Jeſus Chriſt our Sa-
" viour, we take you now under our protection,
" moſt reſpectable biſhop. You deſerve it by that
" courage which has made you reckon as nothing
" the moſt painful labours, and regard as an ob-
" ject of contempt the rage of perſecutors and
" menacing ſwords. Holding in your hand the
" helm of faith, which is ſo dear to you, you ceaſe
" not to combat for the truth, nor to edify the
" Chriſtian people who find in you the perfect
" model of all virtues. For theſe cauſes, we re-
" call you immediately, and we order you to return,
" to teach the doctrine of ſalvation. Return there-
" fore to the holy churches; feed the people of his
" God. Let the paſtor, at the head of the flock,
" offer up prayers for our perſon: for we are per-
" ſuaded that God will diffuſe on us, and on thoſe
" who are Chriſtians like us, his moſt ſignal favours,
" if you grant us the aſſiſtance of your prayers."

It appears by the order contained in this letter, that the Emperor was ignorant, or choſe to be ignorant, that Athanaſius had reſumed the public exerciſe of his functions †. Be that as it may,

* The word " celeſtial" faintly expreſſes the impious and extravagant flattery of the Emperor to the archbiſhop, της προς τον Θεον των ολων ομοιωσεως. GIBBON.

† He might be ignorant of it; for St. Gregory of Nazianus ſays, that the order for the recall of Athanaſius was diſpatched the firſt of all. *Greg. Naz. or.* XXI. B.

Jovian

Jovian wrote to him again, to ask instruction of him as to the tenets which were then the subject of disputes. Not that he was not a confirmed catholic. The letter just quoted would alone prove it *; and, besides, thus to consult the great Athanasius, the man of the church and the bulwark of the faith, was loudly to declare himself for the doctrine of Nice. But not to mention the dispute which had been raised concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost, the Arians, by their sophisms and captious formularies, some of which were rather insufficient than erroneous, had introduced into a controversy, simple in itself, more difficulties than were necessary to embarrass a soldier like Jovian. Thinking himself then obliged by the state to labour on the great work of the re-union of Christians, and resolved to employ only persuasion, he had need of some palpable but decisive and keen arguments to convince the sectaries, without entering into thorny discussions, which would have been above his reach, and in one sense beneath his dignity.

Athanasius entered fully into his views; convened some intelligent bishops, and answered him

* Theodoret (l. iv. c. 2.) says, that he ordered those, who had adhered to the faith of Nice in its purity, to be put in possession of the churches. If that be true, the order was not rigorously executed. It appears, however, that Jovian gave a church new-built to the Catholics of Antioch (of the communion of St. Meletius); which seems to prove that under Julian the Christians might build churches. B.

in

in the name of the whole patriarchate of Alexandria. After congratulating the Emperor on the care which he took to inform himself of the truth *, the holy teacher proves that he must attach himself to the faith of Nice. It is the faith of the Apostles and martyrs. They were in possession of that doctrine when Arius came to sow his errors. All the churches have received, and still receive, the decision of Nice; the small number of Arians that oppose it cannot form a prejudice against the rest † of

* We have this letter in the History of Theodoret, and among the works of Athanasius. In the letter, as it is quoted by Theodoret, is a half phrase in which Athanasius seems to promise Jovian a long and tranquil reign, as the reward of his desire to be instructed in heavenly truths: Και την βασιλειαν μετ' ειρηνης πολλαις ειων περιοδοις επιτελεσεις: "and "you will govern the empire many years in peace."

As Jovian reigned a very short time, Baronius imagines, that these words are an addition of some Arian, who was willing to make Athanasius pass for a false prophet; but in authors who are not inspired such sort of expressions ought to be regarded as wishes, and not as promises, much less as prophecies. B.

Before his departure from Antioch ‡, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual, prayer. In some MSS. this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader. GIBBON.

† Συμψηφοι τυγχανουσιν αι καθα τοπον εκκλησιαι . . . παρεξ ολιγων των τα Αρειου φρονουντων . . . και τινες αυτιλεγουσι ταυτη τη τιμη ου δυνανται προκριμα ποιειν παοσι τη οικουμενη. "All the churches "every where agree . . . a few excepted, who embrace

‡ This letter was rather previous to his coming to Antioch, and indeed occasioned it. See p. 334.

"the

of the world. At length Athanaſius, willing to guard Jovian againſt the hereſy of Macedonius, obſerves, that the ſame council of Nice has ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the conſubſtantiality of the Holy Ghoſt, by ſaying, that it is "glorified with the Fa- "ther and the Son." Thus this able divine adapts himſelf to the neceſſity and capacity of the prince, and does not omit to ſupply him with peremptory arguments, drawn from preſcription, and the conſent of the churches as to a formal and determined tenet.

The Emperor was ſo well ſatisfied with the letter of Athanaſius, that he wiſhed to converſe with him, and ordered him to repair to Antioch. The holy biſhop obeyed the more willingly, as he had already reſolved to go to court; not from taſte (for no biſhop was ever leſs a courtier), but for the intereſts

"the opinion of Arius *, and though ſome contradict this "faith, we know that they cannot prejudice the whole "world." Athanaſius, by reducing the Arians to ſo ſmall a number, ſeems to differ from the common opinion; but it muſt be obſerved, 1. That the biſhops who had ſubſcribed to the council of Rimini, had recovered their fall after the death of Conſtantius. 2. At the very time when hereſy ſeemed to prevail, many of thoſe who received the forms propoſed by the Arians, received them in a Catholic ſenſe. 3. As the moſt determined of the Arians did not ſcruple to ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt is God, the Chriſtian people, who knew only the Supreme God, underſtood that Jeſus Chriſt was the only and ſame God with his Father, and underſtood in a good ſenſe the ambiguous expreſſions with which the error was envelopped. This occaſioned the ſaying of a father of that time: "The ears of the people "are more holy than the hearts of the prieſts." B.

* This aſſertion was verified in the ſpace of thirty or forty years. GIBBON.

of

of the church, and from deference to the advice of his intimate friends. However advantageous his reputation was, he always gained by a perſonal acquaintance. Jovian liked him extremely, and gave him his confidence. It is honourable for that prince to have placed it ſo well. Athanaſius was the greateſt man of his age; and perhaps, taken all together, the church has never had a greater. God, who deſtined him to combat the moſt dreadful of hereſies, armed at once with the ſubtleties of logic and the power of the Emperors, had endued him with all the gifts of nature and of grace, which could render him proper to fill that high deſtination.

He had a juſt, quick, and penetrating mind; a generous and diſintereſted heart; cool courage, and, it may be ſaid, uniform heroiſm, always the ſame, without impetuoſity or extravagance; lively faith; unbounded charity; profound humility; a chriſtianity, ſtrong, ſimple, and noble, like the goſpel; a natural eloquence, abounding with penetrating ſtrokes, ſtrong in ſubſtance, going directly to the point, and of rare preciſion in the Greek writers of that time. The auſterity of his life rendered his virtue reſpectable; the gentleneſs of his manners made him beloved. The calmneſs and ſerenity of his ſoul were painted on his face. Though he had not an advantageous perſon *, his external appearance had ſomewhat majeſtic and ſtriking. He

* See note *. p. 141.

was

was not ignorant of the profane ſciences, but he avoided making a parade of them. Skilled in the letter of the ſcriptures, he alſo poſſeſſed their ſpirit. Neither Greeks, nor Romans, ever loved their country ſo much as Athanaſius loved the church, whoſe intereſts were always inſeparable from his. Long experience had inured him to eccleſiaſtical affairs. Adverſity, which enlarges and refines when it does not cruſh the genius, had given him admirable penetration to diſcover reſources, even human, when every thing ſeemed deſperate. Threatened with exile when he was in his ſee, and with death when he was exiled, he ſtruggled for near fifty years againſt a league of men ſubtle in arguments, profound in intrigues, acute courtiers, maſters of the prince, arbiters of favour and diſgrace, indefatigable calumniators, barbarous perſecutors. He diſconcerted, confounded, and always eſcaped them, without giving them the conſolation of ſeeing him make one falſe ſtep; he made them tremble even when he was flying before them, and when he was buried alive in the tomb of his father *. He read hearts and futurity. Some Catholics were perſuaded that God revealed to him the deſigns of his enemies; the Arians accuſed him of magic; and the Pagans pretended that he was

* Under Valens he concealed himſelf in the ſepulchre of his father, and remained there four months. Among the ancients, particularly in Ægypt, ſepulchres were buildings in the open country, ſo conſiderable that there were apartments in them. *M. Fleury*, l. xvi. 10. B.

verſed

verſed in the ſcience of auguries, and that he understood the language of the birds *; ſo true it is that his prudence was a kind of divination. No one diſcerned better than he the ſeaſons to diſcloſe or to conceal himſelf; thoſe of ſpeech or ſilence; of action or repoſe. He knew how to fix the inconſtancy of the people (the Alexandrians, which is ſaying all), to find a new country in the places of his exile, and the ſame credit at the extremity of Gaul, in the city of Treves, as in Ægypt, and the very boſom of Alexandria; to keep up correſpondences; to procure protections; to unite the orthodox; to encourage the moſt timid; of a weak friend never to make an enemy; to excuſe weakneſſes with a charity and goodneſs of heart, which ſhewed, that, if he condemned rigorous methods in matters of religion, it was leſs from intereſt than principle and character.

* This we learn from Ammianus: "It was ſaid, that "being thoroughly ſkilled in ſoothſaying, and in what "was portended by augural birds, he ſometimes foretold "future events." It is related on this ſubject, that as Athanaſius was paſſing through the ſtreets of Alexandria on the eve of a feſtival which the Pagans were to celebrate with great feſtivity, a raven was heard to croak. "What "ſays that bird?" exclaimed the Pagan populace. Athanaſius anſwered ſmiling, "He ſays, *cras*" (which ſignifies in the Roman language, "to-morrow)," "and declares to "you that the Emperor of the Romans forbids you to cele-"brate your feſtival." On the morning after, the prohibition of the Emperor did not fail to arrive. SOZOMEN. B.

A prophecy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen, (l. IV. c. 10.) which evidently proves, if the crows ſpeak Latin, that Athanaſius underſtood their language. GIBBON.

Julian, who did not perſecute the other biſhops, at leaſt openly, conſidered the taking away his life as a piece of great policy, thinking that the fate of Chriſtianity was attached to that of Athanaſius. This honourable diſtinction ſeemed to have completed the glory of the holy biſhop, when he repaired to Jovian. He was then about ſeventy years old; but his career was not ready to cloſe. After having made him triumph over three former Emperors *, God deſtined him to gain other victories over Valens †.

We are ignorant of the particulars of the advice which Athanaſius gave to Jovian; but we may be certain, that he confirmed him in the deſign of labouring only in a Chriſtian manner to reunite Chriſtians; and that he made him underſtand that it was previouſly neceſſary to inſpire all parties with principles of kindneſs; to teach them to bear with one another; to deſire and to ſeek peace, till it ſhould pleaſe God to accompliſh it. At the ſame time he diſcloſed to him the ſnares of the ſectaries, ſome of whom at leaſt had formed projects of conqueſt on a prince who was not ſufficiently inſtructed in theological matters to diſtin-

* That is, of Conſtantine (in the latter years of his reign deceived by the Arians), Conſtantius, and Julian. B.

† The Janſeniſts have often compared Athanaſius and Arnauld, and have expatiated with pleaſure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of thoſe celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterouſly managed by the Abbé de la Bleterie. GIBBON.

guiſh

guiſh by himſelf what characteriſes error, when it borrows the features of truth.

Arrian and Candidus, pure Arians, ordained biſhops by the famous Ætius *, both relations of the Emperor, were gone to meet him at Edeſſa; and Jovian, if we may believe Philoſtorgius, had, in ſpeaking to them, expreſſed a kind of neutrality which might give them ſome hope, though his anſwer might be only the effect of his moderation. They had followed him, without doubt, to Antioch; and it is alſo known that Euzoïus, biſhop of that great city, and ſome other Arians, already practiſed upon the eunuchs of the palace, having not forgotten that, by that method, they had gained the favour of Conſtantius, and reigned in his name. All the leaders of parties beſieged Jovian to obtain his permiſſion to perſecute their enemies. We may judge of their reſpective pretenſions by the petition of the Macedonians, who demanded to be put into poſſeſſion of the churches which were occupied by the pure Arians. The Emperor contented himſelf with replying, "I hate diſputes: I love and honour thoſe who have peaceable views, and who "concur in union." Theſe words, proceeding from the mouth of the ſovereign, and coming from the bottom of his heart, were an effectual ſtroke, and immediately chilled the warmeſt diſputants. They held a council in Antioch, where the Arians of the party of Acacius of Cæſarea in Paleſtine

* See Vol. I. p. 2. note *.

communicated with Meletius, one of the two Catholic biſhops of that city, and ſubſcribed to the form of Nice. The ſincerity of their ſignature is queſtioned; but if they betrayed their conſcience, it was not the fault of Jovian, who declared plainly that he would not conſtrain any one, and who ſaid it ſincerely. He was not ſo ſucceſsful in terminating the ſchiſm of the Catholics of Antioch, divided between Meletius and Paulinus. Fraternal diſſenſions are always the moſt obſtinate.

Though Jovian ſhewed very great regard for Athanaſius, the Arians of Alexandria, ſupported clandeſtinely by Euzoïus, made ſome attempts to prevent his returning to his church. After the tragical death of their biſhop, George of Cappadocia, which happened in the time of Julian *, they had caſt their eyes on a prieſt named Lucius, a man of very bad looks, and of a ſtill worſe character, who did not fail to juſtify their choice by the cruelties which he committed in the perſecution of Valens. The Arians of Alexandria, for ſome reaſon that is not known, had not yet cauſed him to be ordained. They ſent deputies to Jovian, and Lucius at their head; wiſhing to have him for their biſhop, or, at leaſt, any other that the Emperor would give them to the excluſion of Athanaſius. The Catholics of Alexandria ſent deputies alſo, on their part, to oppoſe the efforts of the Arians; the latter addreſſed the Emperor ſeveral

* See the IXth and Xth Epiſtles of Julian, p. 17—23.

times.

times. We have the original relation of the different audiences which he gave them *. It is a curious remain in many reſpects. Above all, Jovian is there ſeen drawn to the life: he there ſhews firmneſs, ſenſe, judgement, and equity, ſomething blunt and military, a lively diſpoſition, and, if I miſtake not, a taſte rather than a talent for raillery. But I am wrong to foreſtall the reader; let him judge for himſelf †.

[The Emperors, who originally were only generals of the army, were accuſtomed to exerciſe with their ſoldiers. There was near every city a place for exerciſe, called, "The field of Mars," or, "The field.]" One day, when Jovian [attended by his guard] was going on horſeback through the Roman gate to the field of Mars, Lucius, Berniccus, and the other [deputies of the] Arians, approached him, ſaying, "We beg "your power, your majeſty, your piety, to give "us audience." 'Who, and whence are you?' ſaid Jovian. They anſwered, "Sir, we are Chriſ-"tians." 'Whence, and of what city?' added the Emperor. "Of Alexandria," replied the Arians. 'What do you deſire of me?' ſaid the Emperor. "We beſeech your majeſty," ſaid they, "to give "us a biſhop." 'I have ordered Athanaſius,' re-

* *Petitio Arianorum ad Jovian. inter opera Athan. t.* I. *p.* 782. B.

† I give this account entire, having taken care to incloſe within crotches all that is not in the acts themſelves, and yet was neceſſary to facilitate the underſtanding them.

plied Jovian, 'to return to his ſee.' "Sir," ſaid the Arians, "Athanaſius has been baniſhed many "years for crimes of which he is not cleared." Then a ſoldier [a Catholic, of the Emperor's guard] in the tranſport of his zeal, took the liberty to ſay, 'Sir, give yourſelf the trouble 'to examine who are theſe people, and whence 'they come. They are the miſerable remains 'of the faction of Cappadocia, the agents of 'George, of that villain, who deſolated the city 'of Alexandria, and the whole world.' At theſe words, the Emperor ſpurred his horſe, and went to the field.

They preſented themſelves a ſecond time, and ſaid, 'We have ſeveral heads of accuſation againſt 'Athanaſius, which we are able to prove. It is 'thirty years ſince he was baniſhed by Conſtan-'tine and Conſtantius, of immortal memory. He 'has been baniſhed lately by the beloved of God, 'the moſt philoſophical * and moſt happy Julian.' "The accuſations of ten, twenty, thirty years," ſaid the Emperor, "are obſolete. Speak no more "to me of Athanaſius. I know why he was ac-"cuſed, and how he was baniſhed."

[So firm an anſwer did not repulſe the Arians. They returned to the charge a third time.] "We

* It is difficult to conceive that perſons who profeſſed Chriſtianity, and, beſides, were ſpeaking to a Chriſtian Emperor, ſhould have been ſo irreligious, ſo abſurd, as to give Julian theſe epithets.

Muſt there not have been ſome interpolation here? B.

"have,"

" have," ſaid they," " new complaints againſt Atha-
" naſius." [The deputies of the Catholics of Alexandria beginning, as it ſeems, to ſpeak at the ſame time], " Jovian ſaid, ' When all ſpeak together, it ' is impoſſible to underſtand who is in the right. ' Chooſe two perſons on each ſide ; for I cannot ' anſwer both of you.' The Catholics began. " Sir," ſaid they, " theſe men, whom you ſee, are the re-
" mains of the deteſtable George, the ſcourge of
" our province. They do not ſuffer in the cities any
" ſenator" . . . The Arians [wiſhing to cut ſhort an account which would have covered them with confuſion, and perceiving, beſides, that Lucius, a creature of George, would never be approved by the Emperor, interrupted the Catholics by ſaying], ' Be ſo ' kind, Sir, as to ſet over us whomever you pleaſe, ' except Athanaſius.' " I have already told you," replied the Emperor, " what concerns Athanaſius is
" ſettled ;"—and in an angry tone, he ſaid to his guard in Latin, " *Feri, feri,*" that is to ſay, " Strike,
" ſtrike *." [The order, without doubt, was not executed, as the Arians perſiſted.] ' Sir,' ſaid they, ' if you ſend back Athanaſius, our city is ' ruined ; and, beſides, no one aſſociates with him.' " I have, however,' ſaid Jovian, " made en-
" quiries ; and I am aſſured, that he thinks well,
" that he is orthodox, and that he teaches ſound

* Jovian ſpoke Greek to the Alexandrians. It is probable that the Emperors always ſpoke Latin to their guard. B.

" doctrine." ' It is true,' replied the Arians, ' that ' he ſpeaks well; but he thinks ill.' The Emperor ſaid, " I require no other teſtimony than that " which you have given him. If he thinks ill, he " muſt give an account of it to God. We men " hear words; God alone knows the bottom of the " heart." ' Sir,' ſaid the Arians, ' allow us to ' hold our aſſemblies *.' " Ah!" replied Jovian, " what hinders you?" ' But, Sir,' added they, ' Athanaſius declares us heretics and dogmatiſts. " His place obliges him," ſaid Jovian. " It is the " duty of thoſe who teach the truth." ' Sir,' proceeded the Arians, ' he has taken away the lands ' of the churches †.' " You would make me be- " lieve," ſaid Jovian, " that you are brought " hither by other views than thoſe of the faith. " Retire, and live in peace. Go to church; you " have an aſſembly to-morrow." [This was on a Saturday, or the eve of ſome feſtival.] " After " the aſſembly, every one ſhall ſubſcribe his pro- " feſſion of faith. You have here ſome biſhops " and Nemeſinus ‡. Athanaſius alſo is here. Thoſe " who are not inſtructed in the faith have only to " apply themſelves to him. I give you to-morrow, " and the day after. I am now going to the field

* Συναγεσθαι.

† This perhaps is the meaning here of the word τα τιμια. B.

‡ This Nemeſinus is not known; he might be an officer employed by the Emperor to effectuate the re-union. Under Conſtantius we find *Nemeſianus*, intendant of the finances, *comes largitionum*. B.

" of

" of Mars." A lawyer, a Cynic-philoſopher, then ſaid to Jovian, ' Sir, on account of the biſhop ' Athanaſius the treaſurer-general has taken ſome ' houſes from me.' Jovian anſwered him, " If the " treaſurer-general has taken ſome houſes, is Atha- " naſius reſponſible for it?" Another lawyer, named Patalas, then ſaid to him, ' I have a charge ' againſt Athanaſius.' " What buſineſs," ſaid the Emperor, " has a Pagan like thee to trouble him- " ſelf with Chriſtians?"

[During this time Lucius kept behind the other deputies. The bad ſituation in which he ſaw his affairs was likely to increaſe the confuſion which his diſadvantageous perſon might already have occaſioned in him. He would have mingled in] the crowd of the people of Antioch, who were collected round the Emperor. But ſome ſeized him, and having made him advance, againſt his will, ' See, Sir,' ſaid they, ' what a ſubject they wiſh to ' make a biſhop!' [It muſt be remembered that Athanaſius had a countenance full of nobleneſs and dignity *.]

Nevertheleſs the ſame Lucius [depending perhaps on ſome private recommendation] ventured to appear again before the Emperor at the gate of the palace, and begged an audience. Jovian ſtopped, and ſaid to him, ' Lucius, is it ' thou to whom I am ſpeaking? How cameſt thou ' hither? By ſea or by land?' " By ſea, Sir," replied Lucius. ' May the God of the univerſe, may

* See p. 141, note.

' the

'the ſun * and the moon,' ſaid the Emperor, 'puniſh the companions of thy voyage, for not 'having thrown thee into the ſea! May the ſhip 'be eternally the ſport of outrageous waves, and 'never arrive in port!' [Thus he delivered himſelf from that odious man by an ironical imprecation, in which the learned editors of Athanaſius diſcover much wit †. I queſtion whether every one diſcovers as much; nor do I know whether they will not be ſurpriſed at this fantaſtic aſſemblage of the ſun and moon with the God of the univerſe in the mouth of a prince in other reſpects ſo religious.]

The Emperor, having learned that the Arian cabal were uſing indirect meaſures at court, and that Euzoïus had engaged Probatius, the great chamberlain, and the other eunuchs of the palace, to ſpeak to him in favour of the Arians of Alexandria, was enraged to ſee that the ſucceſſors of Euſebius and Bardion ‡, who had made a traffic of the favours of Conſtantius, ſhould pretend to ſucceed to their credit. He made his eunuchs undergo the torture to diſcover the bottom of the intrigue; and ſaid, "that he would "treat in the ſame manner the firſt [of his do-"meſticks] who ſhould dare to ſolicit him againſt "the Chriſtians." After having begun the work

* It is in the Greek Κομήτης ἥλιος, "the blazing ſun." B.

† See the Latin Life of Athanaſius, which is prefixed to the new edition; *et facete quidem.* B.

‡ Braudion in the French; but in the Greek, Βαρδίων.

of

of re-union, as far as time would permit, under the eyes and direction of Athanasius, he allowed him to return into Ægypt, and remained impressed with esteem for his virtues and talents *.

With such zeal for the Christian religion, Jovian, one would think, must have succeeded at Antioch better than his predecessor. But the city was filled with Arians, or with persons who thought themselves such; and the Arian sects deemed themselves persecuted when they could not persecute. Besides, the inhabitants of Antioch remained in possession of the faculty of despising all their sovereigns, or at least of turning them into ridicule. What prince could have found favour in their sight? They did not spare Marcus Aurelius. Some Emperors had punished those insolent people. Most had connived at their insults.

* Athanasius at the court of Antioch is agreeably represented by La Bleterie. He translates the singular and original conferences of the Emperor, the primate of Ægypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

GIBBON.

As soon as Athanasius had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the Christian Emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer, the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Ægypt, and the Catholic church. The true æra of his death is perplexed with some difficulties. But the date (A. D. 373, May 2.) which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic life (*Maffei Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. III. p. 81.) *Ibid.*

Julian had lately revenged himſelf with his pen. But Antioch was a city that was incorrigible, was reckoned ſuch, and abuſed its reputation. Jovian was not well received. The treaty of peace, and the ceſſion of Niſibis, furniſhed the jokers with a thouſand ſarcaſtic ſtrokes. They had ridiculed Julian for his beard, his diminutive ſtature, his temerity. As for Jovian, he was treated as a ſecond Paris: "he has," it was ſaid, "the good looks and per-"ſon of the Trojan prince. He has, like him, "ruined his nation. O that he had periſhed in "the war! He ſhould be ſent back into Perſia "to commence another treaty. His perſon was "formed at the expence of his mind. The meaſure "of his ſtature is that of his folly." The walls were covered with abuſive bills, the ſtreets and ſquares were ſtrewed with verſes of Homer, applied, or parodied, in the moſt inſulting manner *. In the Hippodrome a man of the dregs of the people made the ſpectators laugh by repeating, with a loud voice, ſome low jeſts on the ſtature of the Emperor; and at the idea of this wretch being apprehended, the people revolted. This ſedition might have had dreadful conſequences, if the præfect Salluſt the ſecond had not quelled it; and that required all his authority.

* The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very ſlight evidence. GIBBON.

Theſe facts, though taken from the fragments of a Greek monk *, an hiſtorian little known, are no more than probable and ſuitable to the character of the inhabitants of Antioch. But what the ſame writer adds merits no belief. "There was," ſays he, "in Antioch, a ſmall temple, of very "elegant architecture, built by Hadrian, in ho-"nour of his adoptive father, Trajan. Julian had "converted it to a library, and entruſted the care "of it to the eunuch Theophilus. Jovian, at the "inſtigation of his wife, reduced it to aſhes, with "all the books that it contained." But, what is more ſurpriſing, the author makes Jovian march to this expedition at the head of his ſeraglio, with a torch in his hand †, juſt as Alexander formerly, with the courteſans of Greece, burned the palace of Perſepolis.

I am far from ſuſpecting the Greek monk of inventing ſo ridiculous a ſtory, and of intentionally blackening Jovian. He copied, without diſcernment, ſome enemy of that prince, Eunapius perhaps, an hiſtorian very envenomed againſt the Chriſtian Emperors. That the morals of Jovian

* John of Antioch, whoſe hiſtory began with the creation of the world, and cloſed with the reign of Phocas. B.

† Αυτων των παλλακιδων υφαπτουσων μετα γελωτος την πυραν. "The harlots themſelves with laughter lighting the pile." SUIDAS.

He might be *edax, et vino Venerique indulgens.* But I agree with La Bleterie in rejecting the fooliſh report of a Bacchanalian riot (*ap. Suidam*) celebrated at Antioch, by the Emperor, his *wife*, and a troop of concubines. GIBBON.

were

were not very regular we may believe, if we pleaſe, on the word of Ammianus Marcellinus, though according to the judicious reflection of Ammianus himſelf, on the ſubject of another Emperor, the malignity, or corruption, of mankind, is accuſtomed to lend frailties to princes who have them not *. However, if Jovian had lived in a public and ſcandalous irregularity, the Chriſtians would not have loaded him with praiſes at a time when no one had any thing more to hope or fear from him. The concurrence of the Empreſs with the miſtreſſes of the Emperor is alſo ſomething very ſingular. But by what caprice could the wife of Jovian, Cariton, to whom her father, Lucillian, had, without doubt, given a Roman education, ſuitable to the rank which he himſelf held in the ſtate, have wiſhed to burn a temple, which was no longer a temple, but a library? To annihilate the remains of profane literature is a Muſſulman taſte, which never prevailed among Chriſtians, eſpecially in the fourth century, when the moſt celebrated men in the church were at the ſame time the moſt converſant with the ſciences of the Greeks. Beſides, we ſhall preſently ſee that the wife of Jovian was not then with him. In ſhort, the ſilence of Ammianus and Zoſimus completes the deſtruction of this calumny, and even renders what I have juſt

* It is ſuppoſed that they would do all that they can with impunity. *Quod crimen etiamſi non invenit malignitas, fingit in ſummarum licentiâ poteſtatum.* B.

mentioned,

mentioned, of the ribaldry of Antioch againſt Jovian, in ſome degree ſuſpicious.

Neither of them ſay a word of what happened during his reſidence in that city. Ammianus contents himſelf with relating ſeveral natural events which the Pagan ſuperſtition conſidered as fatal preſages. The ſtatue of Maximian, placed in the veſtibule of the palace, loſt on a ſudden the [brazen] globe (a ſymbol of the empire) which it held in its hand. A dreadful noiſe was heard in the council-room. Comets were ſeen in the day-time *. The Emperor, too intelligent to be alarmed by theſe pretended ſigns of the wrath of heaven, but filled with a thouſand anxieties on account of the provinces of the Weſt, of which he had received no intelligence, ſet out with his army in the month of December. Forced marches, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, deſtroyed a great number of men and horſes.

At Tarſus he paid the laſt duties to Julian, according to Socrates, and gave him a ſolemn funeral. Ammianus only ſays, that he ordered his

* Ammianus, who is very ready to diſplay his erudition, here relates the various ſentiments of the ancient philoſophers on comets, and concludes with the opinion of Pythagoras, which ſeems then to have had the preference: "that they are ſtars, like the reſt, but that we are ignorant of their revolutions." *Stellas eſſe quaſdam cæteris ſimiles, quarum ortus obituſque, quibus ſint temporibus præſtituti, humanis mentibus ignorari.* B.

tomb

tomb to be decorated *. This order was executed under Valentinian and Valens, with much attention, on their part, and even with ſufficient magnificence. To give ſome idea of it, it is enough to ſay, that Libanius was ſatisfied. Thus three Chriſtian Emperors, whom Julian had moleſted on account of their religion, concurred in granting him that frivolous reward of his frivolous virtues, or rather that prerogative annexed to the rank in which God had placed him in the world. Humanity, decorum, policy, and even religion authoriſed their conduct; and Jovian did not foreſee, that, at the end of twelve centuries, his having buried the dead, and expreſſed ſome regard for the talents of the man, the Emperor, and the nephew of the great Conſtantine, would be imputed to him as a crime †.

Though we have no inconteſtible proofs of the apotheoſis of Julian, there is no doubt that the

* Zonaras ſays the ſame in theſe words; εξ Αντιοχειας δε εις Ταρσον γεγονως, και το μνημα κοσμησας τȣ Ιȣλιανȣ επανηει." "Going from Antioch to Tarſus, he honoured Julian by "adorning his tomb." He alſo relates that the corpſe of Julian was afterwards removed from Tarſus to Conſtantinople; which is confirmed by Cedrenus. VALOIS.

† Baronius, in his Annals, conſiders the premature death of Jovian as the puniſhment of his having commanded the adorning the tomb of a wretch who deſerved to be thrown into the highway, *hominis alioqui ne cæſpititiâ quidem ſepulturâ digni.* B.

The Abbé de la Bleterie handſomely expoſes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs. GIBBON.

ſenate

ſenate of Rome, whoſe members were ſtill almoſt all idolaters, paid him an honour due by right to the Emperors, unleſs a proceſs was inſtituted againſt their memory. Even the Chriſtian princes were deified. There was no medium: they muſt be ranked among the Gods, or numbered among the tyrants. Many cities, in which Paganiſm prevailed, aſſociated Julian with their tutelar deities. Some of his credulous adorers thought that they perceived ſome effects of his power; while it was ſaid by the Chriſtians, that the aſhes of that apoſtate ſtirred in the tomb. A report was even ſpread that the earth, by a violent ſhock, had diſcharged them from her boſom. There, however, they remained, when, writing in the reign of Theodoſius, Ammianus judged the city of Tarſus little worthy of ſuch a treaſure. This hiſtorian, a ſoldier, wiſhed to have ſeen Julian on the banks of the Tiber among the firſt Cæſars *; and Libanius, entirely a man of letters, would have been better pleaſed with him in the Academy by the ſide of the divine

* xv. 10. The paſſage deſerves to be tranſcribed: *Cujus ſuprema et cineres . . . non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratiſſimus amnis et liquidus; ſed ad perpetuandam gloriam rectè factorum præterlambere Tiberis, interſecans urbem æternam, divorúmque veterum monumenta præſtringens.* B.

" Whoſe obſequies and aſhes ſhould not have been ſeen " by the Cydnus, though a moſt pure and limpid ſtream, " but, to perpetuate the glory of his good deeds, ſhould " have been laved by the Tiber, which interſects the " eternal city, and chills the monuments of the ancient " Gods."

Plato *. Either in the field of Mars, or in the Lyceum, Julian would have been placed with propriety. On the contrary, he would have been remarkably miſplaced, if, as the modern Greeks pretend, he had been afterwards removed from Tarſus to Conſtantinople, and interred among the Chriſtian princes in the church of the Holy Apoſtles. Who could have made that auguſt temple ſo ſtrange a preſent? This kind of digreſſion will, I hope, be excuſed. To the hiſtory, that I am writing, nothing that relates to Julian is foreign.

Jovian, continuing to make long marches, paſſed through Tyana in Cappadocia, where Procopius, the ſecretary of ſtate, and the tribune Memoridus, who had been diſpatched into the Weſt, brought him the following intelligence. Lucillian, his father-in-law, on arriving at Milan, had learned that Malarich, that confidential Frank appointed by the new Emperor to command the troops in Gaul, in the room of Jovinus, refuſed to accept that employment. Upon that, the Count had ſpeedily paſſed the Alps, and repaired to Rheims, with Valentinian and the tribune Seniauchus. He

* *Orat. Parent.* c. 156. p. 377. Τθλον εδεξαλο μεν το προ Ταρσων της Κιλικιας χωριον, ειχε δ'αν δικαιοτερον το της Ακαδημιας πλησιον Πλαλωνος. B.

" The ſuburb of Tarſus in Cilicia received him; but " he had a greater right to be buried in the Academy near " the tomb of Plato."

The hiſtory of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a ſimilar competition. GIBBON.

had found Gaul tranquil and ſubmiſſive to Jovian. But without conſidering that the authority of his ſon-in-law was not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he undertook to proceed againſt ſome officers with a premature ſeverity. A criminal, apprehenſive of being puniſhed for his miſdemeanours, ſought an aſylum among ſome troops of Batavians *, who were probably quartered in the neighbourhood of Rheims. To induce them to take him under their protection, he aſſured them that Jovian was only an uſurper who had revolted againſt Julian; but that Julian was living, and would ſoon make that rebel ſenſible of it, if he had not already; and that the moſt eſſential ſervice which ſubjects could render to their lawful ſovereign was to exterminate the emiſſaries of a tyrant, who came to ſurpriſe the fidelity of the people, and to engage them in their revolt. This Roman, indiſcreet as he was, found credit among people that were ſimple, and beſides affectionate to Julian. They took arms, and maſſacred Lucillian and the tribune Seniauchus. Valentinian (who in a few months was to reign) owed his life to the care which his hoſt took to ſecrete him. The Batavians, having ſoon diſcovered the

* Ammianus only ſays, *ad militaria ſigna confugit*, without mentioning the Batavians. Zoſimus names them, but extremely mutilates all this hiſtory, and places the ſcene at Sirmium. It appears, however, by the *Notitia* of the empire, that there were Batavians at Condren, in the ſecond Belgic, of which Rheims was the capital. *Præfectus Lætorum Batavorum Contraginenſium, Noviomago Belgicæ ſecundæ*. B.

impoſition, returned to their duty. As, on the refuſal of Malarich, Jovinus had retained the command of the troops, he diſpatched the principal officers to Jovian, to aſſure him of the ſubmiſſion of the army and himſelf *. Procopius and Memoridus, accompanied by Valentinian, proclaimed the approaching arrival of his deputies.

The Emperor, to reward the zeal of Valentinian, gave him the ſecond [ſchool, or] company of targetteers, of his domeſtic guards, and ſent Arinthæus immediately with a letter to Jovinus, by which he confirmed that general in his poſt, and enjoined him to puniſh the author of the impoſition, and to ſend the principal leaders of the ſedition to court, loaded with irons.

At the little town of Aſpuna †, in Galatia, the deputies from the army of Gaul met Jovian, who having given them a public audience with extreme ſatisfaction, made them preſents, and ordered them to return immediately to their reſpective employments.

He entered Ancyra ‡ at the end of the month of December; and on the firſt day of January, 364, he there celebrated the ſolemnity of his conſulſhip. In the room of Varronian, his father,

* The moderation of Jovinus, maſter-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his diſgrace, ſoon appeaſed the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the ſoldiers. GIBBON.

† As he deſcended from mount Taurus. *Ibid.*

‡ The capital of Galatia.

who

who died conſul elect, he had choſen for his colleague young Varronian, his ſon. He had been brought from Illyricum to Ancyra, where the Emperor immediately conferred upon him the title of *Nobiliſſimus*; a title invented for the brothers of Conſtantine, and afterwards given to the ſons of the Emperors *. They quitted it only to aſſume that of Cæſar. Other princes had often raiſed their ſons to the conſulſhip before the time fixed by the laws; but a conſul in the cradle had never yet been ſeen. Jovian thought it a debt to the memory of his father to ſubſtitute to that illuſtrious veteran an infant who bore his name. After all, this dignity, which was ſtill called the ſummit of human grandeur, had no longer any functions. It ſerved merely to denominate the years, and to perpetuate the form of the ancient government. On the day of the ceremony, when the young prince was to be placed, according to cuſtom, in the curule chair, he expreſſed by obſtinate cries a reluctance, which ſeemed a bad omen, and which was ſoon after conſidered as a kind of foreſight †.

* The ſame is now the title of our dukes.

† *Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli ſellâ veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit portendebat.* Ammian. xxv. 10. Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſors, reſpectfully ſolicited a diſpenſation of age for the ſons or nephews, whom they raiſed to the conſulſhip. But the curule chair of the firſt Brutus had never been diſhonoured by an infant. GIBBON.

See p. 290.

From Ancyra Jovian repaired to Dadaſtana, a ſmall city, or town, on the frontiers of Galatia and Bithynia, but which belonged to the firſt of theſe provinces *. There, if we credit Socrates, he received the deputies from the ſenate of Conſtantinople, who came to compliment him on his conſulſhip. Themiſtius, the chief of the deputation, there pronounced, according to the ſame hiſtorian, the panegyric of the Emperor, in which nevertheleſs are obſerved all the marks of a diſcourſe pronounced the very day that Jovian took poſſeſſion of the conſular dignity. The piece, however, is written with great elegance and dignity; but, like all that comes from the pen of Themiſtius, is rather too much loaded with learned alluſions. Some ſtrokes of flattery appear in it concerning the election of Jovian, and on the peace made with Sapor. The author extolls, with much more juſtice, the patronage with which the prince honours men of learning. The elogium principally turns on his mildneſs and equity with regard to matters of religion. The ſame orator gives him a commendation which is alone worth a panegyric; namely, that his elevation had made no change in his manner of treating mankind. He neither forgot nor ſlighted thoſe who had been his equals. He did not affect to make his ſuperiority perceived by thoſe who

* The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadaſtana 125 Roman miles from Nice, 117 from Ancyra. Weſſeling, Itinerar. p. 142. GIBBON.

might

might have made him ſenſible of theirs. His friends, his benefactors, did not diſcern the change of his ſituation, but by the effects of his gratitude and liberality. He collected at his court the moſt virtuous men in the empire: he invited thither, he attached to his perſon, thoſe whom diſgrace, or exile, had eſtranged. "There were ſeen," according to the expreſſion of Themiſtius, "watching "over the ſafety of his reign, the wiſe Neſtor, the "free and generous Diomed, the Chryſantus of Cy-"rus, and the Artabazus of Xerxes." I ſuſpect that Salluſt the ſecond is the Neſtor; Valentinian might be the Diomed. I am not ſufficiently acquainted with the court of Jovian to gueſs the two others. It is not only in modern times that orators, by way of being eloquent and figurative, expreſs themſelves in a manner ſometimes ænigmatical to their contemporaries, and almoſt always unintelligible to poſterity.

The endowments of Jovian, acknowledged by the Pagans themſelves, his attention to find out perſons of merit, and that talent, which in a prince may ſupply the place of all others, of knowing mankind, of eſtimating their worth, and properly employing them, announced to the Romans a wiſe government. Some faults, which I have not diſguiſed, he committed. Raiſed on a ſudden from a ſtation of little eminence to the ſupreme power, to which he had never aſpired even in a dream, in a manner dazzled and ſeduced by the fatality of cir-

cumſtances, he made ſome ſlips on the moſt rugged and ſlippery ground in the world. But the faults of inexperience and ſurpriſe often turn to the advantage of thoſe who commit them, when they have good ſenſe and juſt intentions. Jovian was young: he might have acquired what he wanted. Ammianus could not have had a mean opinion of him, as, when he reproaches him with ſome vices, that author preſumes that he might have corrected them through reſpect to his diadem. Every thing may be hoped from a monarch who reſpects himſelf ſo far as to find motives to become virtuous even in independence, the uſual ſtumbling-block of virtue. The choice, which Jovian made, of his confidents and miniſters, gives room to believe, that he was capable of receiving advice; and, as it is obſerved by one of the greateſt men of the laſt age, "ſtates "are generally better governed under a prince of "moderate abilities, who knows how to hear and "follow good advice, than by a ſovereign of a "ſuperior genius, who is attached to his under-"ſtanding, and thinks himſelf infallible *."

The two capitals, the provinces, the armies, had acknowledged Jovian. The church was about to enjoy a profound peace: the ſtate, united within itſelf, hoped to repair its loſſes: Jovian ſeemed

* Grotius, in his hiſtory of the war of the Netherlands, *l.* VII. under the year 1598. *Uſu compertum . . . multa ſæpè ſalubriùs geſta ſub principe qui aliorum benè repertis aures et juſſa commodaret, quàm ſi cui ſapiendi fiducia contumaciam addidiſſet.* B.

able

able to promiſe himſelf a long and glorious reign. Conſtantinople was preparing to receive him magnificently, and, impatient to poſſeſs him herſelf, conjured him to get the ſtart of the prince his ſon. Rome, who alſo flattered herſelf with ſoon ſeeing the Emperor, was already ſtriking medals to celebrate his arrival; his wife was coming to meet him with the pomp of an empreſs; when, in the night between the 16th and 17th of February [364], he was found dead in his bed, after having reigned only ſeven months and twenty days. This was the third Emperor who diſappeared in leſs than three years and a half.

It is pretended that he was ſuffocated by the fumes of charcoal that was lighted in his chamber, to warm it, and to dry the walls which had been newly plaiſtered *. The danger to which Julian had been expoſed at Paris †, might have put him on his guard againſt a like accident. Others aſcribe his death to indigeſtion ‡, or to the attack of an apoplexy. The cauſe was neglected to be aſcertained; without doubt, becauſe it was thought natural: but this very negligence made many imagine it to be the effect of the wickedneſs of men. Am-

* See Ammianus Eutropius, who might likewiſe be preſent, Jerom, Oroſius, Sozomen, Zoſimus, and Zonaras. We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we ſhall not diſcuſs minute differences. GIBBON.

† See the Miſopogon, Vol. I. p. 236.

‡ Occaſioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the muſhrooms, which he had ſwallowed in the evening. GIBBON.

mianus,

mianus, by saying, that " his death, like that of " Scipio Æmilianus, was followed by no enqui- " ries," insinuates, that he lost his life by some secret attack *. St. Chrysostom says expressly, that " Jovian was poisoned by his domestics." Would the eunuchs of the palace have formed a conspiracy to deprive themselves of a master who seemed not to be of a temper to suffer himself to be governed, or were they set at work by some ambitious man, such as Procopius, who, nevertheless, did not avail himself of that crime? Still it is certain, that the suspicion could not fall on the successor of Jovian. It was not till after having offered the empire to Sallust, born to deserve it, and constantly to refuse it †; it was not till after having cast their eyes on various subjects, among others on Januarius, a relation of Jovian, that the army suddenly determined [Feb. 26], in favour of Valentinian ‡, who was then absent §. The Christians

* Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction. GIBBON.

† He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the præfect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. *Ibid.*

‡ Valentinian was the son of Count Gratian, a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he

tians bitterly lamented Jovian, and thought that God had only ſhewn him to the world, becauſe the world was not worthy of him *. A proof that it was not the ſpirit of party that cauſed their tears to flow, is the good that is ſaid of him by the Pagans. Valentinian and Valens did not prevent the ſenate of Rome from placing him among the Gods †. His corpſe was carried to Conſtantinople into the church of the Holy Apoſtles ‡, where, long after, his tomb was ſeen among thoſe of the other Auguſti.

His wife ſurvived him ſeveral years; an inſtance as memorable, but ſtill more ſtriking, of the inſignificance of what is ſtyled grandeur. She had loſt in a few months a father-in-law, a father, a huſband, of whoſe elevation ſhe only heard to feel more poignantly his loſs. That which is the reſource of all other mothers, completed her unhappineſs. She had a ſon; but a ſon deprived of the higheſt hopes, and ſuſpicious to the government.

he retired with an ample fortune and ſuſpicious integrity. The city of Nice in Bithynia was choſen for the place of election. Valentinian aſſociated his brother Valens in the empire, in one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, thirty days after his own elevation. GIBBON.

§ In his quarters at Ancyra.

* *Oſtendunt terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra*
Eſſe ſinunt. VIRG.

† This ſeems to me the meaning of theſe words of Eutropius: *benignitate principum qui ei ſucceſſerunt inter Divos relatus eſt.* B.

‡ The ſad proceſſion was met on the road by his wife Charito. GIBBON.

The

The empire was elective, and young Varronian not having been chosen Cæsar, had no right to pretend to it. Besides, Jovian had not had time to ingratiate many dependents. It was feared, however, that Varronian would sooner or later aspire to the place which his father had filled. He was still living in the year 380. A barbarous policy had already deprived him of an eye; and his mother constantly trembled for the life of that unfortunate child, who had no crime but that of being the son of an Emperor *. She was, without doubt, a Christian, and no one had ever more need of the solid consolations which Christianity alone can give. It is not certain that Jovian had conferred on her the title of *Augusta*. No medal of this princess now exists, though those of Jovian are not scarce. She was placed, after her death, in the tomb of her husband.

* Chrysostom, *tom.* I. *p.* 336. 344. *edit. Montfaucon.* The Christian orator attempts to comfort the widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes, that "of "nine Emperors (including the Cæsar Gallus) who had "reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Con-"stantius) died a natural death." Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear. GIBBON.

An

An ABSTRACT of an ESSAY,

By the Abbé de la BLETERIE,

On the Rank and Power of the ROMAN EMPERORS, in the Senate *.

From *Les Memoires de l' Academie des Sciences et Belles Lettres,* at Paris, tom. XXIV.

THE object of this Memoir is to ſhew the error of thoſe who conſider the imperial government as a monarchy, and to prove that it was in fact an ariſtocracy, the head of which, inveſted with the power of the civil and military magiſtrates, the conſuls, tribunes, and generals of the ancient republic, was, after all, only the firſt magiſtrate; powerful enough indeed to oppreſs his country, when willing to expoſe himſelf to the riſk of acting the tyrant, but alſo liable to be puniſhed as ſuch whenever ſhe could aſſert her rights. Without admitting this point, the hiſtory of the Emperors muſt appear a heap of the groſſeſt contradictions, a confuſed chaos of unaccountable facts and events, a downright ſchool of fanaticiſm and rebellion; whereas, by adopting it, every obſcurity vaniſhes, every difficulty is removed; and we

* The Abbé de la Bleterie delights to purſue the veſtiges of the old conſtitution, and ſometimes finds them in his copious fancy. GIBBON.

are

are no longer ſurpriſed at ſeeing the ſenate proceed judicially againſt a Nero, and other ſuch monſters, both before and after their deaths.

In the ſenate the Emperor ſat between the two Conſuls. His curule chair did not, by any thing that appears, differ in any reſpect from theirs. The privilege, granted to Caius *, of ſitting on a tribunal ſo high that it was impoſſible to reach him, did not deſcend to his ſucceſſors. Neither Tiberius nor Auguſtus had ever any guards in the ſenate. Tiberius, indeed, in the twentieth year of his reign, aſked leave to introduce with him Macro, Præfect of the Prætorium, accompanied by a ſmall number of other officers; and the ſenate permitted him to bring in as many military men as he thought proper; but this conceſſion, of which that prince, as he never returned to Rome, never had occaſion to avail himſelf, became ſo precarious, as to be renewed for Caius, and then for Claudius, after whom the Emperors generally appeared in the ſenate with one or two Præfects of the Prætorium.

The meetings of the ſenate were either ordinary, the number of which was fixed to two for every month, or extraordinary, being called, as the exigence of affairs ſeemed to require, by the Conſul in poſſeſſion of the *faſces*, the Prætor, in the abſence of the Conſuls, or the Tribune, in certain

* Caligula.

caſes,

caſes, which it is not eaſy to determine. The Emperors, without being Conſuls for the year, had the privilege of calling extraordinary meetings of the ſenate; firſt, as inveſted with the tribunitian power; ſecondly, by virtue of the conceſſion made to Auguſtus, A. U. C. 732; thirdly, as perpetual Conſuls. Moſt of the Emperors, when at Rome, were preſent in the ſenate; and all, or almoſt all of them, acknowledged themſelves inferior to it, at leaſt in ſome reſpects. They addreſſed it as ſuppliants or petitioners. "I pray you, I conjure "you, I beſeech you, conſcript Fathers," are their common expreſſions. Some of them ſtyle the ſenators their lords and their patrons; others call them the princes of the world, and give them the title of "Your clemency, your majeſty," &c. The Emperors choſen by the army always applied to the ſenate to confirm their election. But what were the prerogatives of the Emperor in this auguſt aſſembly?

Either the Emperor was Conſul for the time being, or Conſul elect, or neither the one nor the other. In quality of Conſul for the time being, he convened the ſenate, preſided in it, propoſed the affairs upon which it was to deliberate, collected the ſuffrages, and finally diſmiſſed it; all functions attached to the conſular dignity; but it was only alternately with the other Conſul, his collegue, that he performed them. For a long time, the Prince, when in the exerciſe of the conſular

ſular power, wore the ſame kind of robes as the other Conſuls *; which robes were kept in the capitol, to ſhew that both one and the other held from Heaven, and their fellow-citizens, the powers of which thoſe robes were the enſigns †.

As Conſul-elect, the Prince performed the functions attached to that dignity. The Conſuls elect gave their votes firſt, and it appears that the Emperor ſubmitted to this cuſtom. In the early days of Rome, the Conſuls for the time being never gave their votes in affairs of their own propoſing; and if they ſometimes voted during the Imperial goverment, it was never but in matters which the Emperor himſelf had laid before the ſenate.

The Emperor ſeldom preſided in the ſenate, though actually preſent, unleſs inveſted with the ordinary conſular dignity. This the Abbé de la Bleterie proves by a paſſage in Pliny the younger, who, ſpeaking of Marcus Priſcus, ſays, that Trajan then preſided in the ſenate, "for he was "Conſul." The Prince was often preſent only in quality of ſenator. We read that ſeveral Emperors reckoned it an honour to be members of the Senate, and to pay the tax called *glebæ ſenatoriæ præſtatio*.

* That dreſs was a robe of purple, embroidered with ſilk and gold, and ſometimes ornamented with coſtly gems. GIBBON.

† The Emperors themſelves, who diſdained the faint ſhadow of the republic, were conſcious that they acquired an additional ſplendor and majeſty as often as they aſſumed the annual honours of the conſular dignity. *Ibid.*

They

They never left the houſe till the Conſul had diſmiſſed the ſenators in the uſual form, by the words "*Nihil vos moramur, Patres conſcripti.*" There are many inſtances to prove, that the Emperor uſed to give his opinion in the ſenate; and that the Conſul called upon him for it. This is ſufficient to ſhew the error of Salmaſius and Muret, who, from the Emperor's collecting the votes, concluded, that he never gave any himſelf; it being an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, that whatever member collected the votes never gave any himſelf, and the prince was, beſides, ſuperior to all the other magiſtrates. But, as the prince did not always preſide, neither did he always collect the votes, nor was he ſuperior to the ſtate, of which the Conſul was both the organ and the repreſentative, when, as preſident of the aſſembly, he called upon the members for their votes. Accordingly, the ſenate often decided againſt the opinion of the Emperor, and its decrees were always conſidered as the voice of the ſtate. Sometimes, it is true, the will of deſpotic princes was blindly followed by the ſenators; but even then the ſenate deliberated and decided ſovereignly. On this occaſion M. de la Bleterie obſerves, that authors, in general, are too apt to exaggerate the abuſe which the Roman Emperors made of their authority. From the year of Rome 727, the epocha of the lawful authority of Auguſtus, to the firſt year of Diocletian, and U. C. 1037, there elapſed 310 years. Now let

us, on the one hand, add together the reigns of all the bad Emperors, and, on the other hand, the reigns of thoſe who were ſometimes good and ſometimes bad, and we ſhall not be able to make out above 120 years of oppreſſion for the Romans; and even in this interval we ſhall find proofs of the Roman liberty ſubſiſting, at leaſt *de jure*, though oppreſſed *de facto*; ſo that there remain 190 years, during which the government was conformable to law, and favourable to liberty. This learned Academician has, beſides, obſerved, in order to invalidate a fact related by Tertullian, that authors are apt to inſiſt too much on the ſlaviſh ſubjection of the ſenate to the will of Tiberius. That Emperor, having received from Paleſtine an account of the miracles performed by Jeſus Chriſt, wrote to the ſenate to propoſe placing him among the Gods; which propoſal was rejected. It is true, indeed, that the ſenate was, at that time, both the inſtrument and the victim of that Emperor's cruelty, and that, therefore, it would not have refuſed to comply with his deſire, had he diſcovered ſuch earneſtneſs to have it granted as might have been deemed an order. But the ſenate, no doubt, was aware, that, in order to amuſe the people with a ſhadow of liberty, he aſked, with little earneſtneſs, what he was not ſolicitous to have granted. Nor was much reſolution requiſite to humour this grimace.

But

But if, on the one hand, the ſenate had a right to decide againſt the opinion of the Emperor, the Emperor, on the other, by virtue of his tribunitian power, had a right, by his *veto*, to hinder the deciſions of the ſenate from being carried into execution. Beſides, he preſided "extraordinarily," without being Conſul, by virtue of a ſpecial conceſſion, which conſtituted one of the moſt conſiderable branches of the Imperial power. This prerogative is known by the name of *jus relationis*, or "right of propoſing matters in the ſenate." This was primitively the ordinary function of the Conſuls, in the abſence of the Prætors, and, in certain caſes, of the Tribunes. When, in the year of Rome 731, Auguſtus diveſted himſelf of the Conſulſhip, which he then exerciſed for the eleventh time, he likewiſe reſigned that conſular prerogative. Upon which, the ſenate confirmed to him, in perpetuity, the tribunitian power, with the privilege of propoſing, at every ſitting, any one ſubject that he thought proper; whereas the Conſul had an unlimited authority of propoſing as many as he pleaſed. Soon after, the ſenate conferred upon him the right of convening it as often as he thought proper. In 735, the ſenate offered him, for life, the ordinary and extraordinary powers of the conſulſhip, and he accepted them, but without aſſuming any title that indicated ſuch perpetual conſulſhip; without depriving the annual Conſul of the right of performing the

public ceremonies, and propoſing affairs to the deliberation of the ſenate, and perhaps too, without accepting the lictors and faſces, that were likewiſe offered to him. He accepted, however, firſt, the precedence in the ſenate; ſecondly, a tribunal, with a right of trying cauſes, and, probably, the general inſpection of the finances; and, thirdly, the prerogative of acting as he thought proper in the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, without waiting for the orders of the ſenate.

Auguſtus confined himſelf to the prerogative, that had been granted him, of propoſing any one ſubject he thought proper, at every meeting, ſo that neither he, nor his ſucceſſors, unleſs they happened to be annual Conſuls, ever enjoyed an unlimited right of propoſing matters to the deliberation of the ſenate. Accordingly we find this right conferred at every change, with fixed bounds, *jus tertiæ, quartæ, quintæ relationis.* As often as the Emperor propoſed any affair to the deliberation of the ſenate, he became Preſident of it, if he was not ſo already in quality of annual Conſul, and uſed to aſk the votes as a mere Conſul might have done, but with one remarkable difference. Originally, and even under the Emperors, the magiſtrates in office never gave their opinion in affairs of their own propoſing. The Conſul who preſided, and propoſed the buſineſs on which the ſenate was to deliberate, did not call upon his collegue, nor the Prætors, nor any of the Curule

magiſtrates, for their opinion. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to the Conſuls elect, to the Prince of the ſenate, or firſt ſenator, to the Prætors, and other magiſtrates, elect, in ſhort, to all the members of the ſenate not actually in office. He might indeed re-capitulate the arguments on both ſides, and weigh them one againſt another, but without pretending to conclude upon them; which precautions were, no doubt, employed to ſecure to all the members a proper liberty of ſpeech. But when the Emperor propoſed any affair, the Conſul and other magiſtrates were allowed to give their opinion. This is expreſsly obſerved by Tacitus, (*Ann.* III. 17.) in ſpeaking of the charge brought againſt Piſo, and his wife Placina, for the murder of Germanicus. The Abbé de la Bleterie is of opinion, that this conceſſion, to the Conſuls, of voting, was by way of compenſation for the two ſpecial privileges they had before, one, of propoſing any affair they thought proper, the other, of hindering the ſenate from deliberating upon it; and that this conceſſion extended by degrees to the other magiſtrates.

This entertaining and inſtructive Memoir is followed by another, containing "an anſwer to ſome "objections." The firſt objection is, that the deciſions of the Roman ſenate might be, and were ſometimes, actually amended, and even reſcinded, by the judgements of the Emperor; and that the Emperor continued in the poſſeſſion of this pre-

rogative till the reign of Hadrian, which began 140 years after that of Auguſtus. This we find in the Digeſt, *ſciendum eſt appellari à ſenatu non poſſe principem*; *idque oratione Divi Hadriani effectum* *. Till then, therefore, the decrees of the ſenate were ſubject to the reviſion of the prince, whoſe authority, of courſe, muſt have been ſuperior to that of the ſenate, and the whole nation.

This prohibition of Hadrian, ſays the Abbé de la Bléterie, proves indeed that appeals uſed ſometimes to be made from the ſenate to the Emperor, and that the Emperor finally decided upon theſe appeals; but it does not prove, that theſe appeals, or the deciſions given upon them, were according to law. The legal authority of the Emperor reſulted entirely from his power as both Conſul and Tribune. Now, neither the ordinary power of the Conſul, nor even the extraordinary power, by virtue of which the Conſuls might act, in preſſing emergencies, without conſulting the ſenate, gave him any right to alter the decrees of the ſenate, not even while the republic ſubſiſted in its primitive form, when the ſenate was only the national council, and ſtill leſs under its new form, when the ſenate repreſented the whole nation. As Tribune, the Emperor had a right firſt, to interpoſe both judicially and by force in favour of the oppreſſed, and obſtruct the execution of all ſentences, even thoſe that were national: ſecondly, a

* *Lib.* XLIX. *Tit.* 2. *a quibus appellare.*

new

new right of trying all cauſes brought into his court, either in the firſt inſtance, or by appeal, and of pardoning thoſe who had been condemned at any other tribunal whatever. But the author has elſewhere proved, that the only appeals that could be made from the ſenate to the Emperor, were thoſe which preceded a final ſentence. Beſides, to pardon and to abſolve are different things, and, in general, inſtead of giving it himſelf, he uſed to aſk the ſenate for the pardon of criminals.

Suetonius, it is true, ſeems to ſay, that Tiberius cancelled ſome decrees of the ſenate, *conſtitutiones quaſdam ſenatûs reſcidit*; but, perhaps, theſe decrees had not as yet gone through the uſual forms. For example, a *ſenatûs conſultum* was conſidered as little better than the project of a law, till it had been depoſited in the *Ærarium*. In ſuch caſes, therefore, the oppoſition of the Emperor did not exceed the bounds of his authority as Tribune. Perhaps too the hiſtorian means no more than that Tiberius engaged the ſenators to alter ſome of its decrees; an interpretation which no way claſhes either with the text or the ſtyle of Suetonius. For example, he tells us, in another place *, that Vitellius, uncle to the Emperor of the ſame name, "accuſed Piſo of the murder of Germanicus, and "condemned him," *accuſavit, condemnavitque.* Now, the ſame perſon could not be both judge and accuſer; and it is, beſides, well known that Piſo was

* *In Vitell. c.* 11. 2.

condemned by the ſenate on the accuſation of Vitellius. This therefore muſt have been the meaning of Suetonius; and the word *reſcidit* will admit of the ſame latitude. Beſides, the paſſage of Suetonius can only be underſtood of the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, who not being as yet firmly ſeated on the throne, and being, beſides, under apprehenſions from Germanicus, would hardly have ventured to give any umbrage to the ſenate by annulling its decrees.

Suetonius, likewiſe tells us, that Veſpaſian cancelled the decree *, by which the ſenate had voted divine honours to Galba †: *decretum Veſpaſianus abolevit*. The Abbé de la Bleterie, by combining what Tacitus and Suetonius have ſaid on this ſubject, proves, that, at the requeſt of the younger Domitian, the ſenate by way of reparation for the

* Here we may obſerve that the ſuperiority of the ſenate over the Emperor, if we may truſt to Father Hardouin, is proved by the decrees of that body granting divine honours to theſe princes. *Neque enim conſecrat*, ſays he, *aut in Divos reponit, niſi poteſtas ſuperior eo qui conſecratur*; a principle, from which he has drawn the following concluſion, which M. de la Bleterie has corroborated by ſo many other proofs: *Atque hinc intelligis id, quod multis aliunde conſtat argumentis, Imperatores Romanos ſenatui fuiſſe ſubjectos, a quo utique conſecrabantur ii, qui hunc ſibi poſt obitum deferri honorem in vitâ meruiſſent.* Note 18. on the xxxvith book of Pliny, Sect. 14.

This argument ſcarce proves the ſuperiority of the ſenate to the living reigning prince. All that can well be deduced from it is, that the ſenate was ſuperior to the Emperors when they were dead, according to the old adage, *A living dog*, &c.

† Galba, c. XXIII.

inſults

inſults offered to Galba, ordered, firſt, that his ſtatues ſhould be erected again; and, ſecondly, that a column and a new ſtatue ſhould be erected to him in the forum: that Tacitus mentions only the firſt of theſe orders, and Suetonius only the ſecond. The firſt was executed; the ſecond required time; and Veſpaſian, who ſuſpected Galba of having formed a deſign upon his life, gave himſelf no trouble to haſten the execution of it; and the ſenate, being informed of the Emperor's ſuſpicions, ſuffered the project of the ſtatue and the column to drop; ſo that this part of its decree was aboliſhed by the mere non-execution of it; and the term employed by Suetonius may ſignify no more, and not a formal abrogation.

By a ſhort view, which our learned author takes, of all the Emperors before Hadrian, it appears that Caligula was the only one among them who can be proved to have made any encroachment on the juriſdiction of the ſenate; and it was, no doubt, in order to prevent ſuch encroachments for the future, that Hadrian, who was perfectly well acquainted with the rights of the Roman people, and never decided any important queſtion without the advice of the ſenate, whoſe intereſt he had very much at heart, brought in the law mentioned in the Digeſt. After all, this law only forbade appeals, after judgement had been formally given by the ſenate; till then, the parties might appeal from the ſenate to the Emperor, who, in quality

of

of Tribune, might interpoſe, of himſelf, *ex officio*, ſo as to hinder the ſenate from ever proceeding to judgement, though he had no right to judge himſelf, or call the affair to his own tribunal.

The ſecond objection to this doctrine of the Abbé de la Bleterie is drawn from an epiſtle quoted by Julius Capitolinus. Macrinus, Præfect of the Prætorium, having cauſed Antoninus Caracalla to be aſſaſſinated, was choſen Emperor by the army *, who did not believe him acceſſary to that murder. This election required confirmation by a national act. The decree of the ſenate, as repreſenting the nation, that conferred on the new prince all the prerogatives of which the Imperial authority was the reſult, was ſtyled, firſt, *lex imperii*, and afterwards, under Juſtinian, *lex regia*. Macrinus, therefore, wrote to the ſenate, requeſting them to ratify what had been done by the army. He ſays, in his epiſtle, that in conjunction with the troops, he had decreed divine honours to Caracalla, adding, "You will likewiſe decree them "to him, conſcript Fathers: we have a right, as "Emperor, to command you to do it; neverthe- "leſs, we only requeſt it of you." *Et vos, Patres conſcripti, ut decernatis, cum poſſimus imperatorio jure præcipere, tamen rogamus.*

But this epiſtle bears ſo many marks of forgery, that it is ſurpriſing M. de Tillemont ſhould have been the only one who has diſcovered the impoſture;

* See the Cæſars, Vol. I. p. 163.

though

though Tillemont, nevertheleſs, for want of having narrowly examined the nature of the Imperial government, conſidered the Emperors as real monarchs.

Our learned Academician ſhews, that this pretended epiſtle is full of contradictions, and of expreſſions, which not only claſh with probability, but cuſtom, and even truth. He alſo proves, that it muſt have been forged by ſome friend of Elagabalus, an implacable enemy of Macrinus and his ſon Diadumenuş. We likewiſe find, in the hiſtory of Auguſtus, two epiſtles aſcribed to the laſt, though it is evident that they were forged with a deſign to blacken Diadumenus, and to make him paſs for a monſter, of which Elagabalus did well to rid the world.

For farther particulars the reader muſt be referred to the Memoir itſelf, in which he will meet with deep reſearches, ſolid reflections, and great purity of ſtyle.

ADDI-

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

VOLUME I.

P. 14. l. 18. Carterius. *

* Libanius, in his Life, p. 59, mentions a Carterius, who was in many reſpects notorious for his folly, particularly in daring to offend the auguſt Emperors. The perſon above-named muſt probably have offended Conſtantius, or he would not have wanted the intereſt of Julian, and the aſſiſtance of Araxius. Libanius alſo mentions another Carterius, in his CCXLVIIIth Epiſtle (probably the ſon of the former) as an orator whom the ſenators of Arce in Phœnicia had enrolled among them. And in his DLXXth he apologiſes to Maximus for his deſerting the Muſes, and following Mars. Araxius was præfect of Paleſtine. Libanius has ſix Epiſtles to him.

P. 121. note †.

To the "Rhodian ſhower of gold" Libanius alſo alludes in his DCCCLXXIIId Epiſtle; and Ammianus, XVII. 7.

P. 149. To note * may be ſubſtituted this.

* Julian has here in view that paſſage of Homer, in the firſt book of the Iliad, [ver. 607.] where he ſays, that "every God has his manſion and throne † fabricated by "Vulcan with his own hands;" and which he repeats in another place. SPANHEIM.

Ib. l. 18. When therefore they riſe at the entrance of their Father ‡ &c.

‡ This is alſo taken from a paſſage of Homer, in the ſame book [ver. 533.] to this effect; that "at the approach "of their Father Jupiter all the Gods riſe from their "ſeats, and go to meet him, and that no one waits for "him." I find, however, that the poet ſays the ſame thing of Apollo, in the Hymn which is aſcribed to him, in praiſe of that God. *Ibid.*

† In this paſſage Homer mentions only their manſion, or houſe, δώμα.

—— their ſtarry domes —
The ſhining monuments of Vulcan's art. POPE, 778.

The

The ſhining ſynod of th' immortals wait
The coming God, and from their thrones of ſtate
Ariſing ſilent, wrapt in holy fear,
Before the majeſty of heaven appear, &c. POPE, 690.

P. 151. To note † add.

† The authority of Julian, no doubt, is highly reſpectable; but if a perſon in youth carry the marks of a bad diſpoſition, and deliberately commit atrocious actions, when his intereſt required them, we are ſtill warranted to queſtion the ſincerity of his converſion, though, in a different ſtate of his intereſt, even the whole tenor of his life ſhould change. FERGUSON.

P. 290. To note † add.

Theſe Abantes are alſo mentioned by Libanius in his Orat. XIX.

P. 305. To note † add.

The Jupiter, who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon, his ſon, had a very imperfect notion of happineſs, or glory, beyond the grave. GIBBON.

Libanius, "on hearing of the death of Julian," repeats this alluſion, by ſaying, "I looked up to heaven, expecting "tears mixed with blood, ſuch as Jupiter ſhed upon Sar- "pedon; but I did not ſee them; though perhaps he "poured them on the corpſe, and, like the duſt and blood "attendant on a battle, they were ſeen by few." *In Jul. Imp. Necem.*

P. 312. note ‡. Ουτ' εν λογω ουτ' εν αριθμω. Subſtitute this.

Libanius quotes this oracle again in his MCXVIth Epiſtle: "But now he who is ignorant of the laws is truly an "Ægian *, of no name or rank." On which the tranſlator has the following note:

* Αιγιευς.] In the MS incorrectly Αιγευς, called Αιγιευς, from Αιγιον, a city of Achaïa, as we learn from Stephens de Urbibus, p. 36, who quotes this oracle given to them,

Υμεις δ' Αιγιεες ουτε τριλοι, ουτε τελχιλοι,

to which others add the following,

Ουτε δυωδεκαλοι, ουτ' εν λογω, ουτ' εν αριθμω.

Compare Th. de Pinedo on this paſſage, p. 36. To this our author refers. Eraſmus, in his Adages, p. 393, applies this to the Æginenſians, deceived by the ſimilitude of the name. WOLFIUS.

The ſcholiaſt on Theocritus applies it to the inhabitants of Megara.

Υμεις δ' ω Μεγαρεις, κ. τ. λ.

P. 316.

P. 316. note *.

Calliopius, it appears from ſeveral other Epiſtles, was alſo an aſſiſtant to Libanius in his inſtruction of youth, one of his uſhers.

P. 324. l. 8. Calliope is alſo honoured, &c.

† See Vol. II. p. 251. note *.

VOLUME II.

P. 14. Epiſtle VIII. " You are come, Telemachus."

Libanius begins his Legation to Julian (πρεσβευτικος προς Ιελιανον) with the ſame quotation.

P. 45. Epiſtle XXII. To LEONTIUS *.

* Conſular of Paleſtine in 363, as appears by the title of a law, XII Cod. Theod. tit. 55. *De Decurionibus.*

This Leontius ſeems to be that governor of Paleſtine whom at that time, together with Alypius, Julian is ſaid by Ammianus to have given a fruitleſs commiſſion to re-build the temple of Jeruſalem. [See p. 74. note.] To the ſame there are ſeveral Epiſtles of Libanius. He afterwards governed Paleſtine as Pro-conſul under Theodoſius the Great.

GODEFROI.

P. 46. Epiſtle XXIII. To HERMOGENES †.

† Libanius often mentions an Hermogenes, as Prætor of Syria, and ſtyles him in his Life, p. 39, " the beſt of " magiſtrates." He has alſo two Epiſtles to him, viz. the MDXLIXth of Wolfius, and the XIIth of Zambicari, l. III. By the latter he appears to have had a houſe at Corinth. Ammianus too mentions him; XIX. 12. See Valois on the paſſage, and Godefroi in the proſopographia of his Theodoſian Code, p. 365.

P. 69. l. 16. The garden *.

* The ſhort deſcription, which Julian here gives, of this Syrian garden, may be added to the few particulars of ancient gardens which Mr. Burgh has collected in a note on Mr. Maſon's Engliſh Garden, p. 130. The extent is not mentioned, but by its compariſon to that of Laërtes it muſt have been ſmall. Of its diſpoſition, however, we are informed, which was far from happy. The pot-herbs and fruit-trees were planted in the middle, the latter, in that hot

hot climate, not requiring walls to force them, and there was not only a grove of cypreſſes, but a row of thoſe trees was alſo ranged along the walls, it being, like the Italian gardens deſcribed by Biſhop Burnet, walled round, and by this double fortification, as it were, completely excluded from a view of the country.

P. 90. l. 2.

" Diogenes," ſays Libanius, " was a native of Synope, " and the uncle of Ariſtophanes." See Vol. I. p. 317.

P. 148. l. 7. ſwallows †.

† In like manner his maſter Libanius (Ep. XLIV.) compares chattering and long letters to ſwallows, birds that are noiſy in the ſummer, and fly to and fro. WOLFIUS.

P. 199. Add to note *.

By the Epiſtles above-mentioned of Libanius, Eutherius appears to have been præfect of Armenia, and to have had a ſon under his tuition.

P. 227. Add to the ſecond paragraph of the note:

In a ſubſequent work Libanius deems both theſe events preſages of the death of Julian. " This," ſays he, " was " predicted by the temple of Apollo deſtroyed by fire. " The God forſook the earth, as it was ſoon to be pol- " luted. This was alſo foretold by the earthquakes con- " vulſing all the ground as harbingers of approaching " diſturbance and confuſion." *In Jul. Imp. Necem*, p. 258.

P. 246. Among the gardens of antiquity to which Milton, b. IV. compares and prefers his " Paradiſe of " Eden," is

" That ſweet grove
" Of Daphne by Orontes."

P. 247. Add to note *.

Libanius in his Life, p. 47, 8. mentions the Olympics which were celebrated on his 50th birth-day, which muſt have been in the year 364, the year after the death of Julian. " At theſe," ſays he, " I had an ardent deſire to " be preſent; but on the firſt day was impriſoned, not by " the Prætor, but by a ſevere attack of the gout."

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Since

*** Since this work has been printed off, I am enabled, by the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hiſtorique* *, (*4me edition*, 6 *tomes*, 8*vo*, *à Caen*, 1779), to add the following account of a writer to whom I am much obliged.

Bleterie (John Philip Rene de la), born at Rennes, died in an advanced age, in 1772. He was a man of learning, was much attached to religion, and his morals did not belie his principles. His knowledge, being ſolid and diverſified, rendered his converſation intereſting and improving. He publiſhed ſeveral works, which have been well received by the public. 1. *The Hiſtory of Julian the Apoſtate* †, Paris, 1735. 1746. 12mo. a curious performance, well written, and diſtinguiſhed at once by its impartiality, preciſion, elegance, and judgement. 2. *The Hiſtory of the Emperor Jovian*, with tranſlations of ſome works of the Emperor Julian, Paris, 1748, 2 vols. 12mo. *&c. &c.*

* The work ſo ſtyled, *ou Hiſtoire abregée de tous les hommes qui ſe ſont fait un nomme par le Genie, les Talens, les Vertus, les Erreurs, &c. depuis le commencement du monde juſqu'à nos jours, par une Societé de Gens de lettres*, is of itſelf a library.

† This work, it is obſervable, is not ſo entitled by the author, but ſolely *Vie de l'Empereur Julien.*

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17. note † l. 1. r. " Julian " was truly"
26. note † l. 6. r. ' χρυσων'
31. note * l. 2. r. " common " reading"
65. l. 13. r. ' Chalcis'
66. is miſpaged
82. note * l. 3. r. ' ευρεῖ πολῳ'
95. note * l. 7. r. ' δυσωπιστ- ' θαι'
97. note † l. 7. ' F. Martinius,' &c. belongs to the next note
102. note † l. 1. r. ' παιδιων.'
124. l. 13. After ' friends' add ‡ and prefix the ſame reference to the note beginning " Julian, it appears," &c.

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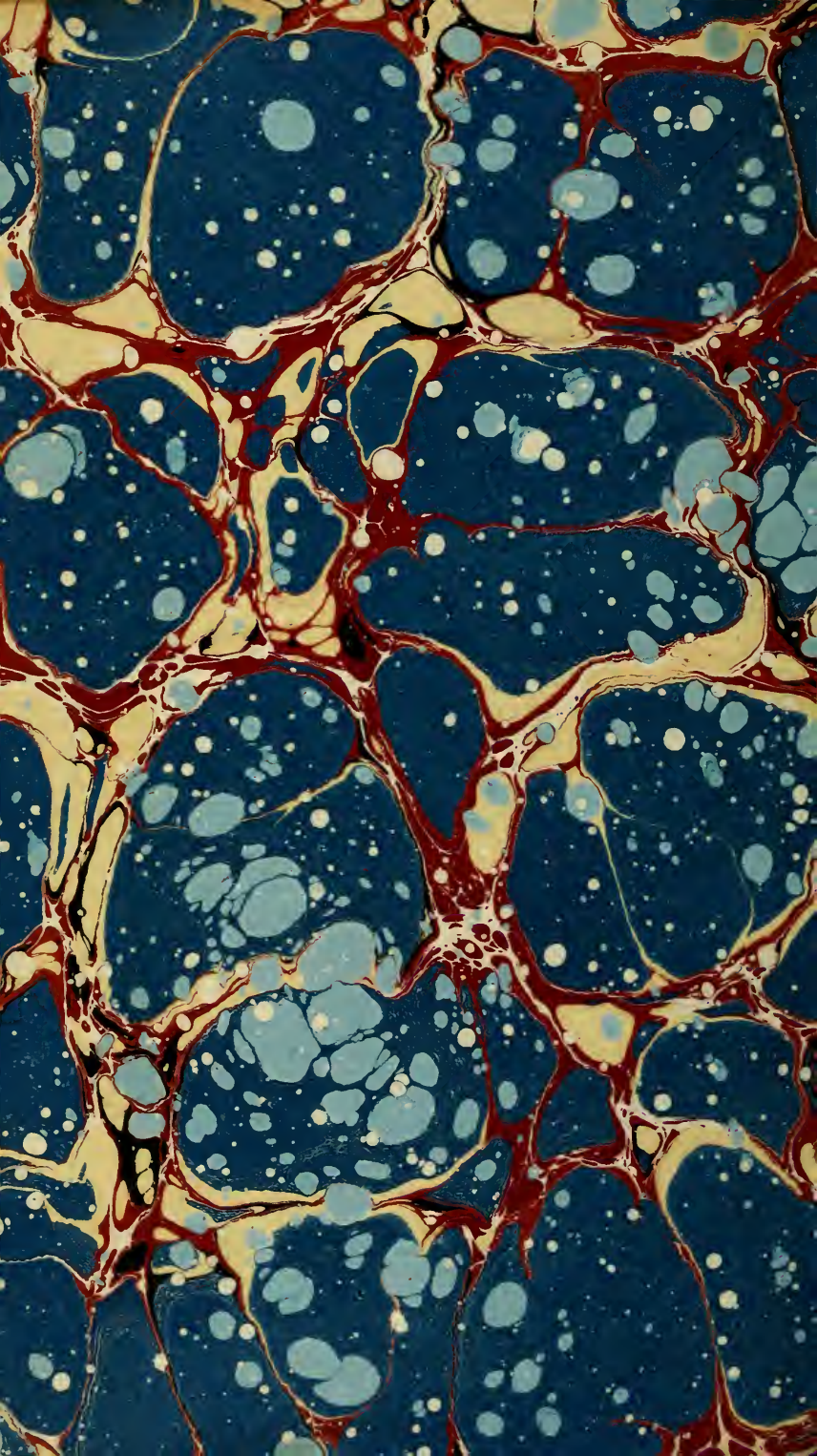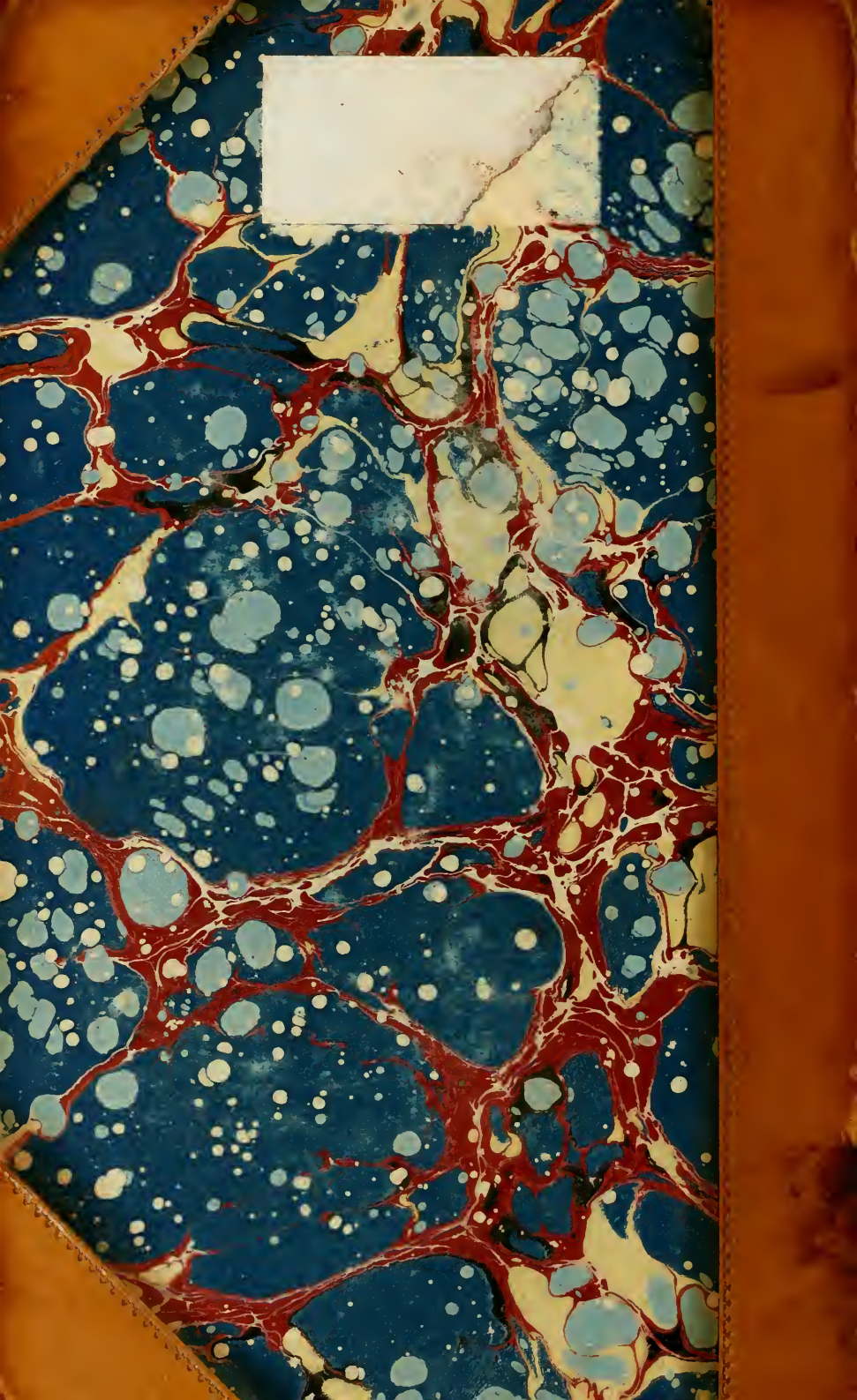
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